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ABSTRACT

This study sought to identify schools that efficiently teach economically disadvantaged black children and describe these schools as models for quality urban education in the United States. An effective school was defined as one in which at least 40 percent of the student population was black; gains were demonstrated in student achievement; and minority students did not experience negative desegregation effects. A literature review explored the social climate of effective education and identified the factors that make for effective schooling and learning. Detailed observations of effective schools in Richmond, Virginia, in Baltimore, Maryland, and in New York City were conducted and reported on. The study concluded that the school as an organization and the characteristics of school personnel are more important determinants of achievement than students' family background. Efficient planning, teacher effectiveness, administrators' leadership characteristics, better use of resources, and focus on basic skills were found to be particularly influential in determining school effectiveness. It was suggested that initiation changes within the school would produce better results for poor children than attempts to change family background factors. Furthermore, it was implied that the combined efforts of schools and communities can make effective schools the norm, rather than the exception, for urban schools. (Author/MJL)

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WHAT WORKS?
AN EXAMINATION OF EFFECTIVE SCHOOLS FOR POOR BLACK CHILDREN

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Preface

This is the final report of a nine-month study of effective schools for poor black children. During the course of the study, schools which efficiently teach these children were identified and observed. This project is, in part, the outgrowth of the concern of legal advocates that victories won on behalf of poor children are made inconsequential because court-ordered remedies are neither monitored by courts nor implemented in the spirit of the law by school systems. Solutions to this dilemma, advocates believe, will result in increased academic achievement by blacks and the poor. The theory suggests that the dilemma will be resolved if all schools routinely provide quality education to all children. In such an atmosphere, the legal rights of students will be respected. This wishful thinking led to the idea that there must be some schools somewhere which were already delivering quality education to our client class -- poor people.

If such schools existed, they could provide a standard of care that could serve as a model of quality education for every city school in the country. For, if quality education for the poor exists somewhere, it can exist everywhere. The problem, then, is this: the characteristics and enabling conditions extant in effective schools must be translated into concrete remedies to be used by courts, parents and advocates. The characteristics of effective schools have to be identified and put into terms which courts can understand -- concise, concrete, finite and implementable. Such specificity is demanded because courts are neither prone to, trained to, nor capable of running massive institutions like schools on a day to day basis. It is the business of the educators that our clients employ to run the schools. Courts can, however, order that the conditions and programs which foster learning for black students be set up if these conditions and programs can be efficiently described.

This project has sought to find the set of conditions or factors which cause schools to be effective for poor black children. Our examination of the literature and observations of schools convinces us that effective schools do indeed have a set of common descriptors. However, the causes of effectiveness are varied and hard to pinpoint. What we came away with is a strengthened sense about the causes of effectiveness. Our intuition and the collective intuition of scholars who study the schools has not been borne about by the statistical studies which seek to predict or select effective schools from among the data on urban schools.

We and others know that something is there, but the statistical tools to detect that something have not been invented. It is as if there were screws to be turned but no screw driver invented. That does not mean that no progress on the task can be made. Until the screwdriver is invented, or if it is never invented, screws will be turned using other tools. Effective schools exist and we know they are there because we can observe, examine and describe them in minute detail. We can describe what they do and posit theories about why they became effective. We can say, with a degree of certainty, that the causes of effectiveness are not as individualistic as some scholars say. We can probably replicate the conditions under which effectiveness has been observed. We can probably set up situations similar to those observed which cause effectiveness. We can probably raise achievement in such settings. Of course, this must be done in some natural setting (a real school).

This study concludes that efforts to make schools effective for poor children should center around improving the professional skills and characteristics of the adults who are paid to work in schools. We have made a conscious attempt to keep the level of education jargon to minimum. If there are lapses in this effort, please call the Center for Law and Education to chide the author.

This report is our attempt to make a wider segment of the advocacy network aware that there are some schools which work. We wish to encourage advocates to redouble their efforts to win equal treatment and outcomes for the poor; praise the educators who believe that all children can learn; and reassure parents that it is the schools which must be fixed, not children.

Many people provided assistance and encouragement. Thanks to Paula Roberts, Ron Edmonds, Jim Breeden, Ken Haskins, Bess Howard, Mattleen Wright, Badi Foster, Perry Hall, Ralph Oppenheim, Taylor McLean, Robert Glenn, Bernice Robinson, Wendell Franklin, the opening panel which set me straight and the educators who spent hours and hours talking to me in school buildings and central offices. All this assistance has been invaluable. The opinions expressed are those of the authors and not those of the Research Institute of the Legal Services Corporation or the Board of Directors of the Center for Law and Education.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Our Operational Definitions

-- The Problem

-- The Context in Which Schooling Occurs

This report is the outgrowth of the desire of staff at the Center for Law and Education to provide the highest caliber service possible to its client community -- poor people. The Center, a national research and litigation support center for the 4,000 Legal Services sttorneys, believes that effective advocacy for the poor entails the appropriate mix of training clients and field attorneys, negotiation, legislative advocacy, training field attorneys, and when all else fails, suing. All of our efforts in advocacy and litigation have been attempts to devise means for empowering poor communities to protect their own rights while monitoring court and legislative mandates in education. Believing that clients and attorneys should be proactive in issues which affect them, staff began to believe that the Center's objectives ought to focus on building and strengthening the case for access to quality education.

The Center has been at the cutting edge of school litigation and legislative advocacy. Staff attorneys have won landmark decisions in testing (*Debra P*. v. *Turlington*); bilingual education (*U.S.* v. *Texas*); Native American education (Tobeluk v. Lind); special education (*P-1* v. *Shedd*); student rights (*Goss* v. *Lopez*); and desegregation (*Morgan* v. *Kerrigan*, *U.S.* v. *School District of Omaha*). We have been very successful, but we realized that we were almost always successful in guaranteeing access to or reinstatement for our clients in schools which were uniformly inadequate. Our clients are often re-admitted to institutions which have stopped trying to teach them.

A more encompassing solution to the problem of schooling for the poor must be found. The more generalizable solutions we hoped to find would be more effective than litigation on a case by case basis. If we could somehow make it possible for all schools which serve our clients to be "effective", we could make litigation a less important strategy for dealing with federal, state and local education agencies. We could then begin to address other crucial issues which trouble the poor.

In order to guarantee access to quality education, two things have to be done. First, schools all over the country that adequately served our nationwide client community had to be identified. Given the number of students all over the country we represent in major cases (300,000+, in various class actions), the number of requests for assistance we receive from attorneys, parents, advocates, state and local legislators (400-500) and the number of clients and attorneys we train each year (500); we were not convinced at the beginning of our project that there were many schools or systems anywhere which protected the rights of the poor while providing quality education.

Second, if "effective" schools existed, our clients and their attorneys must be alerted that there are schools in their areas or nearby states which could be used as standards for the demand for quality education in local districts. The existence of effective schools for the poor would also mean that our clients could have criteria for evaluation and monitoring the implementation of court orders won in litigation.

On the basis of what we've learned, we could suggest remedies which would not engage courts in the running of school systems. For example, in equal protection cases we could ask for what Justice Rehnquist calls "ancillary relief" in Milliken: concentrated reading programs; in-service training for teachers; implementation and/or coordination of federally-mandated programs; effective remedial programs; equal resource allocation and the like. It is these "ancillary" elements which are the primary needs of our clients. If these elements can be uniformly provided in the schools our clients attend, educational equity may come about.

This report examines the social context in which effective schools operate. The social context is important because it is the common environment in which effective and ineffective schools operate. This report appends selected reviews of the literature on schooling.

The broad scope of this report gives a perspective about the ways in which schooling occurs for the poor. We found it simpler to organize our examination into a matrix. A copy of the matrix follows. Sometimes we talk about classrooms, sometimes systems, and sometimes buildings. It is hoped that taken together, the essays, reviews and opinions in this document will paint a portrait of the elements of school effectiveness. When considering the problems of urban schooling; remember, somehow, somewhere in the midst of chaos, there are schools which work.

The research project this report summarizes represents the preliminary steps that the Center is taking in its quest to provide equal access to quality schooling for poor children. We seek to describe effective schools, understand the process which effective schools use and understand the factors which cause these schools to be effective for our clients. In this respect, we hoped that what we found could guide our litigation and advocacy efforts. Our findings will help focus our training of clients on the key factors which can help them cooperate with educators to transform ineffective schools into effective ones. We wish to remove barriers to effectiveness and ultimately decrease the need for litigation in education.

UNIT OF ANALYSIS

		CLASSROOM	BUILDING	SYSTEM	LARGER SOCIETY OUTSIDE
SOCIAL CONTEXT	SOCIOLOGY	How is society's view of the poor blunted in effective schools?		Which systems focus their efforts on poor children?	
	HISTORY		What incidents led to the transition of ineffective school into an effective one?		What have been some of the long standing criticisms of the schoo How have the schools handled the criticism?
	PEDAGOGY	What are the characteristics of an effective teacher?	What are the characteristics of an effective principal? How do principals and teachers interact in effective schools?	How do systems identify, encourage and support effective staffs?	
	PHILOSOPHY	What common beliefs about poor children do effective teachers hold?			What forces have led to the current withdrawal of support from public schools?
	ECONOMICS/ POLITICS		Do unions play a role in effective schools?		Can the erroneous notio that school achievement guarantees increased economic gain be refuted without fueling the notion that public education is worthless? How can the society be encouraged to re-invest in public education given the new economic/ political climate?
	MANAGEMENT/ STRUCTURE	How do teachers organize and manage effective classrooms?	How do principals and teachers interact in effective schools?	What can school bureaucracies be expected to do? What existing resources can be massaged to make all schools effective?	

Definitions

During the last twelve years, the litany of abuses that the Center has been asked to correct has been disappointingly consistent across the country. Within the Center, the litany is called "Post Brown Desegregation Effects" or "Second Generation Desegregation Effects." The abuses we have noted were:

- disproportionate placement of minorities in learning and adaptive behavior or mildly retarded special education programs. (Black youngsters are labelled "retarded" -- a lifetime epithet. Whites are called "learning disabled" -- disabled may imply "fixability" to laymen.) Blacks are under-represented in categories which might be considered results of poverty and/or inappropriate pre-natal care (hearing, speech, vision). Blacks are under-represented in expensive residential programs;
- disproportionate suspensions and expulsions; harsher discipline of blacks when they commit the same offenses as whites;
- disproportionate burdens of court-ordered transportation. (Blacks typically bused 10 out of 12 years. Whites bused 2 out of 12 years.)
- disproportionate school closing in black neighborhoods;
- firings of black faculty and administrators;
- under-representation of minorities in gifted, talented and honors programs;
- re-segregation within buildings through tracking;
- denial of diplomas through competency testing after systems have denied equal educational opportunity and equal resources;
- misuse of standardized tests to compound may of the problems identified above (tracking, special education, denial of diplomas, under-representation in gifted programs).

This litany reflects some of the pathological contexts in which schooling occurs. That some students achieve and excel under these conditions is a testimony to the resilience of children.

The definition of effective schools which initially guided the project's search for schools which work well for poor children involved the litany of Post-Brown Effects. That is, any school or system which overcame or sought to overcome these Second Generation Effects would be considered "effective." There were problems, of course: the definition did not include any of the basic functions of schooling such as teaching people to read, write and perform quantitative analysis. There were no simple means for operationalizing the definition to aid in school and system observations or explain necessary corrective procedures to districts or the courts.

A planning meeting to define further what "effective" meant was very useful in helping to limit the scope of the project. As is the Center's custom when training, cooperating in litigation or devising advocacy strategies, an advisory panel was convened. The panel consisted of a delightful mix of clients, educators, researchers, advocates, attorneys, social services agency heads, university deans, an overseer of Harvard University and graduate students. We spent eight hours wrestling with a difficult task. If this group, after listening to various presentations about the key issues, could reach a consensus about the definition of "effective," we'd be on our way.

Ron Edmonds, Director of the Harvard University Search for Effective Schools reassured participants that such schools existed. Dr. James Breeden, Senior Manager, Office of Planning and Policy (formerly of Harvard) talked about the limits of bureaucracy and what schools could be expected to do. Dr. Ken Haskins, President of Roxbury Community College (formerly director of the principal's Project, Harvard) talked about the critical characteristics of "effective" principals. Dr. Bessie Howard, Director of the Urban Teacher Corps, Howard University, talked about means for identifying "effective" teachers. Ms. Mattleen Wright, coordinator of a court-mandated parents council, talked about what parents expect from "effective" schools. The panel and the presenters engaged in extended conversations, dialogues and heated arguments in an attempt to reach a consensus.

Those definitions were examined and a limited, operational definition of "effective" was drawn up to guide the planned school observations. The definition is fairly uncomplicated, but based on elements of definitions provided by the panel. The operational definition of "effective" which evolved has almost nothing to do with the litany of issues, but that is good.

The litany focuses on the negative; the operational definition focuses on the positive, if minimal.

An "effective" school is one in which:

- 40% or more of the student population is black, and, [Both black and non-black students show greatest achievement rate growth in schools which are 40-60% black according to Summers and Wolfe.]
- 50% or more of the population is eligible for free lunch [indication of poverty] and,
- students gain one year or more on standardized reading and/or mathematics achievement tests for every year of instruction or participation in a program and,
- the achievement gains remain stable or increase over the course of two consecutive school years [school is in transition to efficiency and possible sustainable achievement].

Several other useful definitions emerged during the course of the eight-hour discussion, the most notable of which involved the use of standardized tests with poor children. "Accountability" was also discussed. As a result of the panel's discussions, I accepted the notion that these tests provide a means for poor people to gauge what happens in schools. I firmly believe that standardized tests rationalize the settling of high socioeconomic status students at the top of society and low soci-economic students at the bottom, in the name of meritocracy. If a child is in the fourth grade and reads at the first-grade level, the parent has a red flag and a common language for discussing problems with teachers and administrators. My experience in community controlled schools convinces me that poor black parents want their children to achieve on standardized tests. If everybody else in society takes them, then, poor parents want their children to take them and do well. However, standardized tests cannot measure all the things that schools try to teach or the conditions in which schooling occurs.

The panel discussion convinced us that the investigation should focus on the adults who run the schools, not on the characteristics of the students who have been ill-served by the schools. The target for discussion and investigation is accountability. "Accountability" is the responsibility that the adults in schools have to deliver the highest caliber service to all clients, regardless of race, creed, religion, sex, sexual preference, color, national origin, language or socio-economic status. Talcott Parsons calls this responsibility of the professional "universalism." We believed that we would find accountability/universalism in effective schools. Our belief was confirmed in subsequent school observations and examination of the literature.

Accountability is something which taxpayers demand in exchange for granting "legitimacy" to the schools. The schools, as political organizations, can be judged by Seymour Lipsett's definition, "Legitimacy involves the capacity of a system to engender and maintain belief that the existing political institutions are the most appropriate ones for the society...Groups regard a political system as legitimate or illegitimate according to the way its values fit with theirs."* A given system's legitimacy is measured by the degree to which it addresses a particular community's needs.

We are now witnessing the withdrawal of legitimacy from public schooling (Hamilton, 1968; Wood, 1980). All segments of the population, rich and poor, black and white are losing confidence in the schools for a number of reasons. The reasons are fiscal irresponsibility, racialism as a backlash to desegregation, declining test scores, militant teacher unions, and the unwillingness of schools to be accountable for their work.

With these definitions in hand, the literature on school effectiveness was examined. Literature on the role teachers play in bringing about effectiveness, and the literature on the role of principals was helpful. Schools in Baltimore, Maryland; Richmond, Virginia and New York City, which were identified in the literature or nominated were observed. When requesting admittance to a system, the superintendent was asked to select schools which fit the "consensus" definition.

THE PROBLEM

There are a non-trivial number of effective schools and programs for black children. These findings make a re-shaping of the current policy debate about the efficacy of urban education essential. Effective schools should not be sacrificed in the post-Coleman (1966, 1966 revisited), post-Jencks* (1972) policy climate. Coleman and Jencks imply that nothing works for poor blacks. Some things work for poor black kids; the how, where and who must become the focus of research, policy and implementation in the 1980s.

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* Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics (1960)

The existence of effective schools suggests that the school as an organization and the characteristics of the adults who run it are more important determinants of achievement than the family background of the students. Some effective schools are literally encircled by low achieving schools serving the same population. If, for example, there is an effective school at 501 Main Street, Metropolis, why isn't the school at 701 Main Street, Metropolis effective? Because there are exceptions to the rule that schools serving the urban poor are and will be failures, there is a need for a closer examination of these heuristic cases.

A closer look should entail analysis of success with an eye toward replication. Analysis of reasons for success is, of course, a more difficult task than constructing rationales for failure. Silberman (1970) quotes Robert Merton's statement in "The Self Fulfilling Prophecy," "...it is the successful experiment which is decisive and not the thousand and one failures which preceded it. More is learned from the single success than from the multiple failures. A single success proves it can be done. Thereafter, it is necessary only to learn what made it work." The benefits for children will be enormous when research efforts are centered around the analysis of what works rather than what fails. The questions to be answered look like this:

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* Jencks alters his conclusions in Who Gets Ahead, 1979. Curiously, Who Gets Ahead has gotten little of the acclaim or notoriety that Inequality, 1975, got. Inequality found that very few of the things associated with schooling--buildings, money, quality of teacher, resources--worked to increase student achievement.

1. Since we can now describe the characteristics of effective schools, what causes them to be effective?
2. How do effective schools raise achievement?
3. What standard factors and widely available resources in schools can be re-aligned to bring about effectiveness?
4. How do costs for effective schools compare with those for traditional schools?

We conclude that some schools and programs work because of the characteristics of the adults who run the schools. Implementing positive change within school buildings will produce more efficient results for poor children than attempts to change or involve parents in the schools. [The encouragement of parent participation is often a characteristic of effective schools.

Apparently, the willingness of school personnel to be open and inviting to parents and community comes about as an off shoot of successful attempts to raise achievement and/or improve school climate.] Parent involvement should be encouraged because of its positive benefits on school climate. Parents should not be held accountable for achievement gains; school staff should be responsible for achievement.

Emphasis on in-service training for teachers in specific content areas and classroom management techniques rather than training in human relations will provide more positive benefits for black children. (Human relations training makes participants prone to racialism more convinced of their initial beliefs.)* In-service training for teachers should answer the most famous question that teachers ask, "What do I do on Monday?" Specific short-range and long-range answers to this question can make teachers more productive and able to devote more time to teaching skills. Teachers who know what and how to teach are more confident in their professional ability. These teachers are more confident that what they can teach can be taught to any student. They are more likely to expect that all students can learn and less likely to believe that student background is important.

We conclude that effective leadership by principals does not depend on charisma. That is, while some principals of effective schools are charismatic, charisma does not guarantee an effective school. Effectiveness appears to depend on the principal's transmittal of a well-defined set of goals to the staff. Effective schools exist in the absence of charisma but then they can not exist in the absence of leadership.

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* Gary Orfield, "How to Make Desegregation Work: the Adaptation of Schools to Their Newly Integrated Student Bodies" in Law and Contemporary Problems: The Courts, Social Science and School Desegregation, Part II, Spring 1975, p. 323.

The transition to effectiveness occurs over a number of years (typically 4-7) because schools are vibrant, living organizations. Effective schools require constant attention and cultivation. The implementation of procedures which transform ineffective schools into effective ones should center around better use of existing resources. Schools can always use more money, but until more money is available, school systems should be encouraged to make schools effective with the money they have now. The effective schools we observed had no more money than ineffective schools. Effective schools used their money more wisely.

The Social Context in Which Schooling Occurs

Educators, economists, researchers, policy-makers, parents and advocates know what it takes to raise achievement -- raising family income (Wright-Edelman, 1981; Urban League, 1980; deLone, 1980; Global 2000 Report, 1980). The Global 2000 Report commissioned by President Carter essentially concludes that the problems of poverty in the world could be solved if poor people had more money. Given the new policy climate of reaction, states rights and transfer payments to the rich, there will be few efforts to concentrate resources on the segment of the school population in greatest need. When looking at the history of efforts to provide compensatory programs in social services, the evaluation data concludes that efforts to achieve equality of outcomes has never worked. The conclusions have been based on faulty assumptions, however.

According to D. Cohen (1978)*, there have been no attempts to make poor Americans "equal" to middle class Americans. Public housing cannot be used as in-kind payment for condominiums. Title I does not equal admittance to Harvard. Legal Services does not equal Hale and Dorr. When one looks at public housing, training programs, food stamps, welfare programs or compensatory education, the government actually attempts to provide a floor beneath which no citizen should fall. This "reasonable" floor or minimum has been acknowledged for the first time. It has been called a "safety net" in 1981. The problem then is this: minimalist programs have been evaluated as if they were egalitarian programs. Programs which are actually minimalist and evaluated as egalitarian have been deemed failures, thus providing the rationale for the disinvestment in the poor. In reality, minimalism has been successful; egalitarianism has not.

If one starts the race without the one thing that raises achievement over time, money, and then is given minimal proxies for money, (such as a teacher aide to share with twenty-five other poor children or mandates for parent participation or desegregation) the gap will not be closed. The misevaluation of minimalist programs as compensatory programs destined to close the achievement gap between blacks and whites has led to faulty conclusions. These conclusions provide ammunition for those interested in disinvestment in big city schools; the places where poor black children are likely to be found.

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* Paper presented at American Education Research Association Conference on Competency Testing, Washington, D.C. October, 1978.

Society is less and less likely or willing to give adequate direct payments to poor families and the schools are not the social institutions which are equipped to change minimalism into egalitarianism. Still, the notion that schooling is the means for reaching the top of the socio-economic status ladder is clung to by poor parents (Ravitch, 1975; Williams and Ladd, 1978). Blau and Duncan (1967) conclude that social and economic inequality has not been reduced during this century in spite of the greater number and percentage of citizens getting increasing amounts of schooling.

Poor parents have the equation reversed. Instead of more and better schooling equals more money, the equation should read, more money equals more and better schooling. The schools cannot guarantee more money, for that is not and never has been their manifest function. That implied promise has been their latent function. Jobs or inheritances guarantee money. Poor parents and their children can expect neither of these. Black youth are not unemployed because of the lack of effective schooling. They are unemployed because there are not enough jobs. Given scarcity and racialism these Americans will remain jobless. Ironically, they blame themselves, not the society for their idleness. Schooling can give credentials, nothing more. Jencks (1972) comments in Inequality,

> "Credentials make a good rationing device because many adolescents dislike school. The fact that high-status occupations are believed to require a lot of schooling deters many young people from trying to enter these occupations. As a result, the distribution of occupational aspirations among high school students is surprisingly congruent with the distribution of actual opportunities. Were this not the case, the whole fabric of American society might begin to unravel." P. 183

What must happen in regards to schools is this: the myths connected to schooling must be de-emphasized and the schools must be made to adequately supply what educators can supply -- skills and knowledge. If educators fulfill their manifest function, providing skills over twelve years while leaving children psychologically and physically undamaged, several purposes would be served. Poor parents would not have their energies dissipated fighting the wrong institutions. Students who realize that a high school diploma does not guarantee a job can stop dissipating their energies in a dysfunctional proxy for striking out at the "system" -- resisting learning (cf. Ogbu, 1978). The action is not in the schools, it is in the political process or in the streets.

If schools are not the institutions which should consume energy, why bother with them at all? Why should poor children or parents care whether their schools are effective or not? Why should advocates fight to make the schools accountable? Until such time as the nation decides to include everyone in its bounty, or is altered by the poor, poor children will have to have all the skills necessary to participate in the society as it is (for this is what their parents desire); or they will need the skills to run the new society. While an effective school will not guarantee success in life, an ineffective school when relied upon for life skills guarantees failure. It is not enough that poor children have equal access to schooling; poor children need equal access to quality schooling.

Some poor children are, in fact, receiving quality schooling. Much of the schooling research has erroneously concluded that urban education as a whole is a disaster. The tools, assumptions, and units of analysis of large scale survey research have not taken into account factors such as the attitudes and styles of the adults who run the schools (Rivlin, 1971; Weber, 1970; Murname and Phillips, 1978); teacher expectations (Rosenthal, 1968; Rist, 1970; Beez, 1967); the need to use non-statistical evaluation methods (Klittgard and Hall, 1973; Fredericksen, 1980; St. John, 1971), and idiosyncratic methods for implementing federally mandated programs (Farrar, et al, 1980; Nay et al, 1976; McLaughlin, 1975; Murphy, 1971).

Some urban schools are functioning effectively or are in transition to effectiveness. There is "something" in effective urban schools that traditional methods of evaluation miss. The "something," recognized by educators when they observe it, may be the learning environment (Mehan, 1980); the process that occurs in classrooms (Bruner, 1960; Hanushek, 1978); or what teachers and principals do (Institute for Educational Leadership Fellows, 1980; Bossert, 1978; Ericksen and Reller, 1979; Becker, 1971).

The search for effective schools will necessitate the development of new tools of analysis (M. Cohen, 1981) and new ways of looking at what goes on in schools. What occurs in classrooms has been assumed to be too complicated and too individualistic to provide generalizable data. However, the classroom will become a more important unit of analysis if effectivenesss becomes a major goal of schools.

Tomlinson (1981) believes that the schools of thirty years ago had order, emphasis on individual learner responsibility for achievement, teachers who taught, and principals who led. Not so. Even in 1911, critics demanded that the New York City schools provide evidence that they were actually teaching children skills or lose their budget (Callahan, 1962). Black parents have joined a long line of critics and reformers of public schools. The schools have never worked for poor children, white or black. In the early 1900s, Poles, Irishmen, Italians and other non-Anglo-Saxons were accused of lowering the quality and effectiveness of public schools. Today, Blacks, Hispanics and court-ordered desegregation are blamed for the death of public education.

The search for schools which work has come about as result of the examination and evaluation of twenty-seven years of voluntary and court-ordered desegregation. The implementation of desegregation has led to a pragmatic reassessment by black communities, educators and policy-makers (Lawrence-Lightfoot, 1978; Farrell and Johnson, 1980; Edmonds, 1974; Bell, 1976). Desegregation has led black parents to examine what their children encounter at the end of the bus ride. While not obtaining noticeable improvements in achievement, black students have encountered hostility and differential treatment in desegregated schools, While supporting the principle of equal access and freedom of choice, black parents are questioning traditional methods for implementing desegregation orders.

Brown v. Board, 1954, created the necessary but not sufficient first steps in the quest for equal access to quality public schooling. Then and now, the ultimate aim of black plaintiffs has been educational equity in route to equal achievements outcomes. Whether or not black students are racially isolated, quality education for these students ought to be the priority wherever they are found. The search for effective black schools recognizes social reality, racial isolation, while giving black parents a positive message. That message is this: until policy and practice catch up to their consitutional responsibility to be inclusionary, the society has a responsibility to invest its finest resources in poor and colored children. The fact that there are effective schools serving some of these children makes identification of and support for these schools doubly important. Black students did not cause segregation; they are its victims. Inequality causes ghettos and ghetto schools. Ghettos don't cause inequality.

The existence of effective, racially isolated schools should cause no policy dilemma because the goal of a just society must be social, racial and economic equality. When black youngsters emerge from racially isolated schools, the larger society should be open and inclusive. The discovery of effective black schools should not provide an excuse for the slackening of efforts to build a just and open society. Effective schools should mean a fight for policy which supports equity. Until such time as the society reaches its senses about race and racialism, the schools which serve black youngsters must be made efficient for those they now serve. In the meantime, black students need to be trained as actors, astronauts, physicists, plumbers, engineers, tool and die makers, computer analysts, sculptors and poets.

What ought the policy debate around effective schools entail? The debate must start with the situation as given and then extend to the social climate and policies necessary to ensure the continued support of public education. The society, if it wants to remain whole, must not abandon public education for public schools are the only institutions which transmit learned shared patterns of behavior. Given all the tears in the fabric of the body politic, colored and white, rich and poor, progressive and reactionary, gay and straight, male and female, how is it possible to imply that schools transmit the culture -- learned and shared patterns of behavior?

The answer is complicated, yet simple. Public schools give us common symbols about which the society can agree, disagree and compromise. Public schools define the issues crucial to the larger society. All Americans pretty much aspire to the same ends: life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Public schools provide the common starting ground for radicals of the left and right, black and white, middle-class and poor, urban and suburban. Regardless of how we fight and how we support the status quo or the status quo ante, Americans understand each other because they were presented (subject to individual interpretation), the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, the Declaration of Independence, Julius Caesar, common threads and themes which serve as a frame of reference and anchor for the great debates in the nation.

Poor and rich people understand how the economy operates to support certain segments of the population. Black and white students understand the implications of desegregation. Liberals and conservatives understand the concept of First Amendment rights. The public schools provide themes which can unite the society by having it use common symbols.

Looking at urban, public schooling, one must begin with what is and project what can be. Urban school systems are increasingly colored. Contrary to beliefs on the right and left, this fact is neither good nor bad, but fact. In cities such as Washington, D.C., Detroit, Michigan, St. Louis, Missouri, the total populations and school populations are predominantly black. Even in cities where the population is not predominantly black such as Boston, New York and Norfolk, the schools are predominantly black. The reason for the shift in colors in cities has been attributed to federal housing policy or national mobility or white flight to avoid desegregation. No matter what the reason for the color transformation of the cities, we are now witnessing the impact of this transformation on the schools. Proposals for voucher plans, tuition tax credit, alternative schools, funding for church schools and the like are offered in an attempt to further insulate and isolate white students.

Conservatives support the racial isolation of white students for reasons which often seem negative. Liberals, who are often affluent enough to buy private schooling, are keepers of the dream of integration. That is good, for the dream must never die. However, the reality of contemporary circumstances must provoke transitional strategies which focus on what must be done in the meantime. Of course, the implications of racial isolation are odious, but until housing and economic discrimination are eliminated, there will be predominantly black schools.

The social context in which schooling occurs determines what students will face when they leave schools. If the society decides that an acceptable outcome of schooling is excellence in school skills rather than success in life, we might all be better served. Even though no definitive causal links between success in school and success in life have been proven, Frank Marshall Davis makes a concise distinction between success in life, success in school and the social context in which both occur:

> Giles Johnson
> had four college degrees
> knew the whyfore of this
> and the wherefore of that
> could orate in Latin
> or cuss in Greek
> and, having learned such things
> he died of starvation
> because he wouldn't teach
> and he couldn't porter.
>
> --- "Giles Johnson, Ph.D."

Having attained success in business
possessing three cars
one wife and two mistresses
a home and furniture
talked of by the town
and thrice ruler of the local Elks
Robert Whitmore
died of apoplexy
when a stranger from Georgia
mistook him
for a Macon waiter.

Frank Marshall Davis (b. 1905-)
in The Poetry of Black America: Anthology of the 20th Century
ed., Arnold Adoff
Harper and Row, 1973

2. ASPECTS OF EFFECTIVENESS: WHAT THE RESEARCH SAYS

-- Backdrop for Effectiveness

-- The Look Inside Effective Schools

-- The Focus on Basic Skills

Researchers such as Coleman and Jencks take a broad view of the big issues in schooling: race, financing, resources, social class and equity. Researchers such as Hare, Edmonds, Lightfoot, Rist and Rutter et al look at race, social class, self-concept and achievement in more detail by looking inside schools and classrooms. Other researchers such as Medley, Mehan and Flanders look at schooling in even more minute detail by analyzing teacher behaviors, student responses to those behaviors, what principals do, and the attributes of leadership. Together, all of these researchers help build a frame for the development of a technology of school effectiveness.

Some teachers know how to teach people to read. Some teachers know how to teach people to find answers to the question, "how many?" Some principals know how to lead. Some superintendents know how to run bureaucracies. As we take the research findings together with the expertise of some practitioners, a picture of procedures for disseminating the techniques of effectiveness is an attempt to order what is known about what works for poor children. The discussion moves from the broadest level of analysis towards the detailed findings of how effective classrooms operate. It ends with opinions of how these findings relate to our concept of basic skills--something that effective schools emphasize.

The Backdrop for Effective Schools

The Congressional push to invest in Great Society programs in the 1960's led to the mandate that such programs be evaluated to determine the effects of the funding. In this social climate, Coleman and his colleagues were commissioned to survey the state of inequality existing in schools. Finding little variation in resources between black and white schools in factors such as building quality or equipment, Coleman concluded that differences in level of resources between schools accounted for only a small portion of pupil achievement when socio-economic status was taken into account. What schools had, or did with what they had, did not overcome the entering characteristics of black and poor students.

In Equality of Educational Opportunity, Coleman writes, "For most minority groups, then, and most particularly the Negro, schools provide no opportunity at all for them to overcome this initial deficiency [family background]; in fact, they fall farther behind the white majority in the development of several skills which are critical to making a living and participating fully in modern society." (p.20). But Coleman includes a rarely noted qualification which is powerful in its policy implications,

> The schools do differ, however, in the degree of impact they have on the various racial and ethnic groups. The average white student's achievement is less affected by the strength or weakness of his school's facilities, curricula, and teachers than is the average minority pupil's. To put it another way, the achievement of minority pupils depends more on the schools they attend than does the achievement of majority pupils... The conclusion can then be drawn that improving the school of a minority pupil will increase his achievement more than will improving the school of a white child increase his. Similarly, the average minority pupil's achievement will suffer more in a school of low quality than will the

> average white pupil's. In short, whites, and to a lesser extent Oriental Americans, are less affected one way or the other by the quality of their schools than are minority pupils. This indicates that it is for the most disadvantaged children that improvements in school quality will make the most difference in achievement. (p. 21)

Coleman's qualification does not support his conclusion that the schools make no difference. For black children, good schools can make a difference. The logic would suggest that improving the quality of black schools would raise achievement. It would also follow that since the quality of schools has a greater impact on blacks, black schools have a greater need for thoughtful resource allocation. However, the Coleman Report betrays this logic.

Critics of the Coleman Report noted the hurried time schedule under which the survey was conducted, one year; the generalizations beyond the scope of the statistical techniques used. Jencks and his colleagues (1979) re-analvzed the Coleman data and evaluated other large sets of data. Their three-year study, Inequality: A Reassessment of the Effect of Family and Schooling in America, concludes,

> "Our research suggests ... that the character of a school's output, depends largely on a single input, namely the characteristics of the entering children. Everything else -- the school budget, its policies, the characteristics of the teachers -- is either secondary or completely irrevelant." (p. 256)

Coleman's analysis, taken together with Jencks et al, has helped to usher in the widely held notion that schooling does not make a difference in the lives of poor children.

Research findings which convincingly contradict the no effects conclusions have not been given the attention they deserve. Coleman has such a grip on policy formulation that he has been allowed to conclude during the last ten years that integration works; integration doesn't work; busing is good; busing is bad; public schools are as good as private schools; private schools are better than public schools.

One of the most convincing refutations of Coleman and Jencks is a nine-year longitudinal study of poor and colored children in inner-city London. Conducted by Rutter et al, the study, Fifteen Thousand Hours (1979), concludes,

> But perhaps the most crucial point concerns the pattern of correlations with school process. The question here is whether schools were as they were because of the children they admitted, or rather whether children behaved in the way they did because of schools' influences. Of course, interactions will take place in both directions, but the much greater correlation between school process and children's behavior/attainment at the end of secondary schooling strongly implies a greater effect of schools on children than of children on schools. We may infer that it is very likely that school processes do influence pupil outcome. (p. 1[illegible]

The study reached the Coleman and Jencks conclusion that physical resources such as buildings do not account for the variation in achievement between schools. However, Fifteen Thousand Hours, also concludes that the effect of factors such as "the degree of academic emphasis, teacher actions in lessons, the availability of incentives and rewards, good conditions for pupils, and the extent to which children were able to take responsibility, were all significantly associated with outcome differences between schools. "ALL OF THESE FACTORS WERE OPEN TO MODIFICATION BY THE STAFF, RATHER THAN FIXED BY EXTERNAL CONSTRAINTS." (Emphasis added, p. 178).

The difference between the Coleman and Jencks studies and Fifteen Thousand Hours is crucial. The London researchers actually went into schools and classrooms to observe what happened inside. Coleman and Jencks did not. The nine-year study also analyzed reams of data, but the researchers decided that there may be something inside of schools worth examining if strong conclusions about the schools are to be drawn. This is not to say statistical descriptions cannot be informative when looking at large numbers of schools. This is to say that the numbers may not describe the process which occurs within schools.

Mehan (1979) believes that scholars such as Coleman and Jenks, who conclude that school has little effect on achievement have not adequately examined classrooms. He writes, "Large-scale surveys may be appropriate for studying schools ... but they are not helpful in revealing the social processes of education that take place within particular schools. By the very nature of their research design, correlational studies are unable to capture the processes of education" (p.6). Mehan argues that ethnographies can give valuable lessons about how children learn in school.

Nancy St. John (1971), notes the need for an anthropological examination of classrooms to determine factors which impact achievement. Classroom observations are important.

The Look Inside Effective Schools

The researchers who have found that various parts of the schooling program make a difference in schools are becoming more and more numerous. The aspects of schooling that common sense might lead one to believe make a difference, make a difference. One might think that teachers have something to do with achievement. They do, according to some researchers. One might believe that principals make a difference. They do. The order or disorder within a building might matter. It does. The amount or type of training in mathematics and reading might matter. It does. The continuous assessment of student achievement might matter. Assessment matters. Briefly, as we list the findings of a number of researchers, try to compare their findings with all the common sense ideas you ever had about schools and how children learn.

Ron Edmonds (1979) has summarized the factors that a number of researchers have used to describe effective schools. In his examination of the literature, Edmonds found five common factors which most researchers believe are important for achievement. According to Edmonds' descriptive frame, an effective school has:

- a principal who is a strong leader;
- a focus on basic skills in reading and mathematics
- frequent and systematic student evaluation;

- an orderly school climate;
- teachers with high expectations for student success.

Edmonds believes that schools should teach poor children at least as well as they teach middle-class children. Edmonds defines educational equity as the poor/middle-class parity in instruction. Edmonds' construction of education equity does not require that either group receive quality instruction, just equal instruction. He believes that poor children should be taught at least as well as middle class children. Family background, he insists, is not the chief determinant of achievement.

In another study, Edmonds and Fredericksen (1979) examined twenty schools in Detroit. The effective schools in this group contradicted the generally accepted relationship between family background and student achievement. In the effective schools the percentage of black children at mastery was approximately the same as the percentage of white children at mastery. The percentage of poor children at mastery approximated the percentage of middle-class children at mastery. In the effective schools, students were not separated by ability. Teachers had not requested the schools; rather they were assigned to these schools. There were few specialists such as reading teachers. The students were likely to have attended kindergarten or nursery schools.

Edmonds' discovery and observation of effective schools around the country and his descriptors of the characteristics of these schools should provide a major push in the direction of re-evaluating urban schools. His findings have started a search for statistical means for separating out these schools from the mass of data on urban schools. The creation of statistical tools would be an advance in statistics and not an advance in the art of bringing about effective schooling.

Klitgaard and Hall (1973), while not finding statistical evidence that effective schools exist, explain that statistics attempt to find commonality in masses of data. They conclude that statistical techniques focus on the "average" effects of all schools, but it is important for policy and research to focus on exceptions to the rule. The search for and observation of effective schools attempts to find and describe exceptions to the rule that schools which serve black and poor children are uniformly inept.

Some researchers look at the school effects on achievement -- those things which schools control such as the existence of school library, number of books in the library, teacher's ability, teacher's highest degree earned, teacher's salary, teacher's race, number of aides, counselors and other school helpers in the building, type of reading instruction method (phonics vs. look-say), age of school building, percent of teacher's time spent in direct instruction, amount of time students spend engaging in learning and the like. Brookover (1979) also believes that these factors are greater determinants of achievement than home factors.

We believe that the researchers who look at the impact of school factors on achievement are more on the point than those who conclude that home effects are most important. But, trying to determine what portion of achievement is due to what particular home effect is like trying to determine how many angels can dance on the head of a pin. Home factors cannot be directly altered by the school. When influential researchers conclude that school factors make little or no difference in the achievement of poor children, the logical policy decision becomes one whereby the society is not wasting more money on the public schools. This policy decision would be fair if it then took the next logical step and diverted school funds directly into homes. Then the family could get direct payments with which to buy housing outside of ghettos, more protein, adequate clothing, better medical care, encyclopedias, pretty furniture and the like. However, the decision to disinvest in schools leads to investment in sectors of the economy which have nothing to do with the alleviation of poverty or ignorance.

If home factors determine achievement, why do educators at high achieving middle and upper middle-class schools take credit for that achievement? They had nothing to do with it. Their students don't even require formal schooling if the home factors theory is correct. It makes sense that somehow, what teachers, principals and aides do during the thirty hours a week they interact with students makes a difference in whether children learn school skills -- reading, algebra, French dialogue. This realationship bwtween what schools do and how students learn is still in the realm of "intuition". Statistics have not quite been able to definitely describe or prove this intuition.

Reason might lead parents and researchers to ask questions concerning teachers, the people who are in direct contact with learners. Teachers are in a position to transmit the society's feelings about poor people directly to low SES students in an ongoing and personal basis. Poor people are thought to be lazy, shiftless, dumb and abusive to their children. Poor people are blamed for their own poverty. Teachers can also help diminish the impact of the society's views about poor children. The teachers in effective schools expect that all their students will learn -- regardless of family background (Brookover, 1979; Guthrie, 1971; Edmonds,1979 Greenberg, 1969; Phi Delta Kappa, 1980; Brookover and LeZotte, 1979; Silberman, 1970; Rosenthal, 1968; Beez, 1967; Weber, 1971). Researchers who look at the connection between teachers and schools as social systems pretty much recognize that teachers may have different expectations for success based on the student's social class. (Brookover, 1979; Lightfoot, 1979: Bowles and Gintis, 1976; Dreeben, 1968) .

Rosenthal (1968), in one of the most famous experimental studies on schooling, concludes that low teacher expectations for success is a self-fulfilling prophecy, teachers expect that some children will fail, based on negative interpretation of factors such as the race of the child, the amount of money the child's parents have or the size of the child's I.Q.; the child will fail. Children considered "culturally deprived" or "disadvantaged" or "culturally deficient" or poor are generally not expected to achieve. Teacher expectations of high ability and high achievement is one of the most crucial determinants of student effort, motivation and achievement. Rosenthal suggests that a greater portion of the effort in the research on schooling, training in schools of education, resource allocation and policy should be directed toward teachers.

Former Associate Commissioner of Education, Don Davies, comments in a collection of research papers commissioned by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare in 1971. Teachers are, he says," .... the single most important element in the school -- more important than the quality of facilities, the quantity of equipment and materials or the level of financing."

Medley (1979) in "The Effectiveness of Teachers" concludes that since personnel costs consume most of the costs of schools (80-85% typically). the most "cost effective" way to improve education is to improve the effectiveness of teachers. Medley summarizes research on the characteristics of effective teachers. He found that students had notions of what makes effective teachers.

An effective teacher:

- makes demands on students
- has teaching skill
- has knowledge of subject
- keeps order in classroom

In the view of experts, effective teachers demonstrate:

- good judgement
- self-control

- "considerateness"
- enthusiasm
- magnetism
- adaptibility

All of the teacher effectiveness lists were based on "perception" and intuition. The systematic observation of what teachers do in classrooms began in 1960 according to Medley. He examined 289 studies and concluded that the students of effective teachers like school best and have higher self-esteem in classes "where they are learning most about reading and arithmetic". He found that effective teachers have orderly classrooms which are "psychologically supportive and ... maintained with relatively little effort on the teacher's part". Effective teachers devote most of their time to large group or whole group instruction and activities. Although these teachers assign less independent seatwork than ineffective teachers, they spend more time directly supervising such work than ineffective teachers. (cf. Center for Behavioral Sciences (1980), Hoover (1978), Phi Delta Kappan (1980) findings that individualization works best with poor children.)

Medley finds, contrary to popular notions, that effective teachers ask more "low level" questions, are less likely to pick up on and amplify student answers, have fewer student initiated questions and comment and give less feedback on student questions. Cureton (1978) agrees. Cureton notes that, "strongly teacher-centered learning environments (like those described by Medley) are most effective for poor children".

Medley may mean that effective teachers ask series of easy questions which most students can answer. They may build upon these gains to provide more information and elicit better understanding. Low level questions ask for facts, dates, names, etc. High level questions ask students to analyze and synthesize already learned facts to solve problems never before encountered. That effective teachers are found to depend on low level questions is puzzling -- unless one takes into account that standardized multiple choice tests ask low level questions. If teacher effectiveness is judged by student achievement on tests, then the confusion is lessened.

Medley concludes that effective teachers of poor children know how to (1)"maintain an orderly and supportive climate", (2)"increase the amount of time devoted to learning activities", and (3) " improve the quality of learning activities". He believes that if all teachers of the poor were held accountable for the three behaviors listed above and if "evaluation of these qualities were used as the basis for selection, retention, merit pay, and so forth, the research strongly indicates that a substantial, if not dramatic improvement in achievement, in attitudes toward school, and of disadvantaged pupil's self-images would result" (p. 25). What teachers do makes a difference.

Rosenshine (1979) estimates that elementary students spend between 50-70% of their time working alone. Only about 10-15% of their time is spent in discussions led by teachers. He concludes that direct instruction --" ... teaching activities focused on academic matters where goals are clear to students, time allocated for instruction is sufficient and continuous, coverage of content is extensive, the performance of students is monitored, questions are at a low cognitive level and students produce many correct responses, and feed-back to students is immediate and academically oriented"-- is more effective than more open approaches to instruction in the elementary grades. Petersen (1979) contends that the direct instruction conclusion is "too simplistic". She believes that it may work for some parts of the curriculum but not others, for some students and not others. Murname and Phillips (1978) suggest that direct instruction is effective with poor children.

The sometimes conflicting literature on teachers suggests another conclusion to us. Any instructional method which is conscientiously planned, consistently organized and rigorously implemented in an orderly, business-like, humane atmosphere, works for poor black children. As long as they spend a sufficient amount of time being taught, children learn.

Salganik, an Institute for Educational Leadership Journalism Fellow (1980) wrote a series of articles about a study conducted by Johns Hopkins University. Commissioned by the Baltimore Sun, the study statistically identified 16 effective schools in Baltimore City. Salganik describes the interaction between teacher and student in a classroom characterized as "ineffective".

"It is 11 a.m., the teacher calls for one reading group to gather at the back of the room. The rest of the class is left at their desks.

Three minutes later, only one girl has brought her chair to the back. The teacher goes to get the others.

By 11:05, the students are in place, their chairs are arrayed in a semi-circle. "Oh, I'm sorry, I forgot to tell you to bring your green books," the teacher says.

The students get up, return to their desks, get their green workbooks and head for the back of the room again.

But there is another interruption , "Get your green books _and_ pencils, please." The students return to their desks and head for the back of the room. By 11:08 the students are again gathered around the teacher.

The teacher gets up, walks to her desk then across to a bookshelf to find her teachers' edition of the green workbook. She returns to the group and tells the students to open to page 27.

Of the seven students in the group, four have an older edition of the workbook. The teacher leafs through one to find the correct page. There is no assignment exactly like the one on page 27, but she finds one that is similar -- both involve selecting the correct word from the list -- and makes sure each of the students is turned to the correct page. A girl sneezes. The teacher says, "Cover your mouth when you cough. Go to my desk and get a tissue."

"I ain't coughed", the student replies

"Didn't you cough?"

"No."

"I was just looking at you," the teacher responds.

"I didn't cough", the girl maintains. "I sneezed."

"Go to my desk and get a tissue."

The girl does not get up.

It is 11:11. The group finally begins the lesson ... one boy is not writing. He does not have a pencil. "Where is your pencil?" the teacher asks. "You didn't listen." He says he has lost his pencil. She sends him to his desk to look for it, then tells him to use a crayon . . .

At this point, the girl who had sneezed earlier begins to cough. She is sent to the teacher's desk for a tissue.

Meanwhile, the students who are not in the group at the back of the room are sitting at their desks with workbooks open. No one is working. Three are pointing pencils at each other, two others watch in apparent fascination.

At 11:20 the group completes a few words. The teacher tells the students to get ready for lunch. Two minutes later, she signals the class to return to their seats,

> counting quickly, "One-two-three." Others continue at a leisurely pace . . .
>
> At 11:25 the lunch bell rings, and the class goes to the cafeteria.
>
> In 25 minutes the class has spent less than 9 on actual learning."

The passage above describes a situation where a good deal of the students' time was spent off-task. The teacher was unprepared for work and disorganized. When teachers are disorganized, students are disorganized. Disorganization leads to discipline problems (often associated with boredom and/or not being able to read). One discipline problem multiplied by 5 equals a chaotic classroom. A chaotic class multiplied by 5 equals a chaotic building. A chaotic building leads to a declining school climate. A declining school climate means that order cannot be maintained. When order is not maintained, teachers can't teach and students can't learn. When students don't learn, they often become disciplinary problems and the whole cycle repeats.

The Johns Hopkins study concludes that the teachers in effective schools spend more time actually teaching than engaging in disruptive behavior. Teachers in these schools are organized, working and moving "efficiently through a planned day." Teachers spend more time instructing the whole class rather than small groups. Teachers handle discipline without letting it disrupt the class. Students spend more time being taught than doing unmonitored seat work. The effective schools concentrate on test related skills. Students below grade level are not permitted to fall further behind. Principals in these schools set the tone for school climate and for what teachers do in classrooms. Principals in the effective schools have " . . . standards . . . expect active teaching and measurable learning".

Several researchers have identified a common set of characteristics of effective aspects of the school program. Keep the Edmonds' summarization in mind as you read these conclusions by researchers.

In a study entitled, Why do Some Urban Schools Succeed? The Phi Delta Kappa Study of Exceptional Urban Elementary Schools (1980), Clark, Lotta and McCarthy aggregate the findings of 253 case studies, 515 research studies and 25 interviews . They conclude that "exceptional" elementary schools have the characteristics listed below.

Leadership

- Principal or program leader important determinant of successful elementary schools and programs;
  - Helps determine climate
  - Provides direction
  - Holds high expectation
  - Provides assistance or direction for instruction program
  - Initiates programs, projects or policies to solve problems

Staff Development

- Teacher staff development and training leads to successful elementary schools and programs;
  - Success of in-service training influenced by the specificity and focus of the program
  - Teachers have opportunity for exchange of ideas and joint planning

Curricular Emphases

- Strong emphasis on teaching basic skills subjects
- Instructional process which succeeded was individualization
- Clearly stated curricular goals and objectives

Funding

> "There is evidence to support the proposition that special project funding from federal, state and local sources is associated with successful urban elementary schools and programs."

Parent Involvement

- Parent contact and involvement related to school success
- Increased number of adults in classroom

Weber (1971) in a study entitled, Inner City Children Can Be Taught to Read: Four Successful Schools, concludes that effective schools are characterized by:

- "Strong leadership"
- "High expectations"
- "Good atmosphere"
- "Strong emphasis on reading"
- "Additional reading personnel"
- "Use of phonics"
- "Individualization"
- "Careful evaluation of pupil progress"

Venezsky and Winfield (1979) believe that effective schools exhibit these characteristics:

- Strong building-wide curricular leadership -- usually the principal who is "obviously achievement oriented"
- Instruction which adapts to individual differences
- Consistent student assessment
- Coordination between building personnel.

Brookover and LeZotte (1977) conclude that in effective schools:

- Teachers and principals believe students can learn what is taught

- Teacher expectation increases
- Emphasis is upon goals and objectives in basic reading and mathematics
- Teachers and principals assume responsibility for presenting basic skills
- Principal is an assertive instructional leader
- Principal is disciplinarian; monitors learning and teaching.

Tomlinson (1981) comments on the research findings about effective schools. He believes that the research shows that effective schools:

- Decrease student and teacher chance to engage in "academically unproductive behavior"
- Center student attention on task with higher adult to student ratio
- Raise teacher morale through better class management
- Organize instruction and materials, leading to efficient student work
- Establish legitimacy of school and fear of failure
- Increase time-on-task; reduce distractions
- Develop students who achieve; these students set higher standards for other students.

Silberman (1970) looks at effective public and private schools in New York City and concludes:

Private Urban Street Academies

- "Attract unusually able and dedicated teachers"
- Are free to use any materials and methods which motivate students to learn
- Adapt curriculum and materials to individual student needs
- Have teacher expectations that students can learn
- Have staff which holds itself accountable for student learning

Public Schools Have

- Low teacher turnover as result of supportive school climate and increasing academic gains of students
- Warm, supportive school atmosphere
- Principal concerned about reading achievement and is the building leader who sets the tone, tracks achievement
- High expectation that children will learn.

I.M. Greenberg (1969) describes an army program which successfully taught low achievers:

- Performance, not race or previous social status, most important.
  "Instructor Attitudes" (Instructors are not professional teachers)
  - "Optimists" -- assume man's ability level can be improved regardless of "deficiencies" in personal background
  - "When the recruit or student arrives for training, the instructor assumes he is educable"
  - Failure by student occurs when . . . "instructor was unable to motivate the student to try harder"
  - Rarely attributes failure to cultural deprivation or genetic limitations

  "This attitude is certainly unsophisticated, but is perhaps the best approach for helping Project One Hundred Thousand mean reach their full potential."
  - Instructors work hard (about 70 hours per week); tutor evenings.

- What Happens
  - Tutoring and counseling
  - Students repeat portions with classes in earlier stage of training
  - Concentration on slow learners at special centers
  - Remedial reading
  - Heterogenous Grouping (all ability levels in same class)
    - Goal is to " . . . improve confidence and self-esteem, separation on the basis on entry scores would defeat this objective"
  - Use achievement and aptitude and "recognize their limitations" since they under-estimate the potential of many of these men
  - Cost per man -- $200
  - Students gained 1.75 grades for every year of instruction.

Berliner (1979) suggest that the following factors are important for achievement:

- Standardized test scores are used as measures of "success";
- Teachers spend sufficient amount of time teaching;
- Students spend enough time using instructional materials and engaging in academic work;
- Teachers give appropriate feedback to students;
- Structured lessons are used;
- Teachers tell students how to do the work.

Cooley and Leinhardt (1980) in a study of individualized instruction mention these important factors:

- Opportunity for children to learn skills presented in achievement tests
- Time to learn reading
- Time to learn structure of mathematics program
- Teacher focuses student's attention on task
- Teacher manages classroom efficiently
- Curriculum content is appropirate
- Teacher emphasizes instruction rather than classroom management.

David Armour (1976) found several factors which were associated with reading achievement gains:

- Teachers trained to use variety of curriculum materials centered on individual student; teacher ability to shape content and teaching style for individual student
- Teachers who believe they are professionally competent
- Orderly classroom climate
- Parent/teacher interaction
- Teachers work together to implement reading program.

The National Assessment of Educational Progress (1981) attributed gains in elementary reading achievement of 9 year olds nationwide to:

- Increased federal funding for reading instruction during the early elementary years."
- "Changes in curricular materials and approaches to the teaching of reading."
- "Increased access to print and electronic media for teaching students and training teachers."

Intuition might lead to the notion that principals have something to do with what happens in schools. Research on the effect of principals often concludes that the principal is the key person within the school. His acceptance of the need for change makes change happen. His denial of the need for change dooms to failure nearly any attempt to impact achievement (Mazzarella, 1977; Trump, 1972; Berman and McLaughlin, 1975).

The principal is responsible for setting a tone and climate which allows teaching and learning to occur. He presides over order or is submerged in chaos. The principal's style of leadership has an impact on discipline and safety. His ability to set well-understood rules and administer them fairly has a positive influence on whether the learning environment is safe and orderly (violent schools -- safe schools). This only makes sense. If teachers and students have a safe, orderly place in which to work, learning may occur. Schools termed "effective" have orderly, though not repressive school climates.

Cotton et al (1979) recognize that the principal is the key adult within the school, but they also recognize his conflicted role. Principals must mediate between the demands of the community outside the school and teachers within the school. The principal is squeezed from above by the increasing number of administrative requirements of a superintendent, board, federal programs, and pinched from below by the demands of increasingly independent unionized teachers. Ingram (1979) comments that the nature of the job is "schizophrenic". Becker (1971) calls the role "ambiguous". Various portions of the literature on principals disagree about whether the principal is or is not the instructional leader. Fallon (1979) argues that the principal does not have the training or skills necessary to determine the types of things that teachers should do in classrooms. Becker (1971) agrees.

The National Association of Secondary School Principals (NASSP) (1978) studied the personal characteristics, professional qualities and competencies, and situational conditions which seem to be associated with effective, exemplary senior high school principals. Sixty principals, identified as effective by expert opinion were interviewed. The authors found that the 60 principals had their diversity in common. There were no personality traits which could be conclusively thought of as "the" traits of an effective principal. There was no single set of qualities or a particular leadership style characterized as effective for all situations.

All of the principals were, "hardworking, dedicated ... concerned about students and ...improving opportunities for learning ...." All of the principals worked efficiently and got along with a variety of people. They knew how to motivate people. Parents, students and teachers mentioned the "people" qualities of these principals rather than technical expertise. These principals seemed better able to cope with negative aspects of their jobs better than ineffective principals. Negative aspects included: incompetent teachers, inadequate budgets, restrictions from the central office and school board and community interference. Incompetent, "undedicated" teachers were the greatest irritant.

The NASSP study concludes that increasing the autonomy, budget and support for principals are critical paths for increasing effectiveness. The study suggests that principals should have decreased paperwork, fewer required meetings at central offices and increased support from staff and central offices.

The effective principals were concerned about the "lack of clarity in their job descriptions". They were also concerned about the absence of a clear process or procedure for handling conflict and problems. Most of the principals interviewed in the NASSP study indicated that they had other jobs lined up for the year following. The authors conclude that job mobility was a characteristic of these principals.

This group of principals felt that what they did was important for the development of staff morale and a positive school climate. They supported teachers, involved teachers in decision-making and had open channels of communication. The principals had staff meetings with the entire faculty and with department chairs. Only about 12 principals in the group had union grievances filed within the year. Most of the principals relied on intuition and personality to solve problems instead of education literature.

The principals saw themselves as catalysts for change within the school.

Most of the senior high school principals in the study used approximately the same strategies for bringing about change. They identified what had to be done, then "planted the seed" with the staff. They worked with staff without trying to force change. They supplied the necessary support for change to occur.

Becker et al, in a 1971 study entitled, Elementary School Principals and Their Schools: Beacons of Brillance and Potholes of Pestilence, conclude that effective principals have a common set of characteristics even though their styles and personalities differ. According to Becker, effective principals:

- Did not set out to be principals, were encouraged to do so;
- Believe in children, believe that schools were established to correct learning difficulties and behavior problems;
- Work well with people and elicit cooperation from them; proud of teachers; work well with groups;
- Get the needs of their school recognized and attended to; violate the chain of command; impatient with administrivia; accepted solutions to problems from whoever could give them;
- Are aware of the ambiguity of their role as worker and manager; sets goals for themselves which are more important than role ambiguity;
- Have long and short-term objectives
- Make adjustments when things don't work out as planned;
- Set goals; plan to achieve those goals; find procedures for change to occur.

Becker find, as do NASSP and others, that in-service training for principlas is inadequate. University programs are not specifically geared towards principals. The principal lacks knowledge of procedures for change or conflict resolution. Becker finds many principals have no skills which would enable them to be the instructional leader.

Whatever their style, it is clear that the principal is the leader in schools considered effective. He creates conditions favorable for teachers to teach. These favorable conditions may be brought about because the principal makes sure that the teachers get as much paper and ditto fluid as they say they need or he may sit down with teachers to determine that a special issue of Dick and Jane is the only book which will teach the children to read. Whatever the specific methods used, administrative or instructional, the principal in effective schools is a leader who sets the goals and expectations for achievement and builds the conditions for an orderly, safe school climate (Weber, 1971; Gorton and McIntyre; Nottingham, 1977; Erickson and Reller, 1979). Effective schools have principlas who are building leaders. Effective schools have orderly climates.

The Focus on Basic Skills

Climate, expectations, leadership and evaluation are all factors which surround the direct thing for which schools are responsible. Effective schools center most of their time and effort on teaching children basic skills in reading and writing. Basic skills should not mean minimal skills, however, Sixth graders focusing on reading can read variations of "Run, Dick, run. See Spot go." or they can focus on reading The Prince and the Pauper or Black Boy. Poor children ought to be taught to analyze, synthesize, criticize, question and discover. Basic skills can be embedded in all of the above. Basic skills should not mean limited skills.

It is very important that poor children be explicitly taught the steps of learning. They certainly ought to be taught the reasons why they must learn certain things. They ought to be taught to learn. These schools also emphasize standardized achievement testing.

Effective schools may be focusing instruction and learning into those areas which are measured by tests. Higher test scores appear to be what critics and friends of urban education want these days. The value and consequences of the emphasis on test scores must be weighed by parents and educators. The instructional emphasis on those things which tests can measure raises test scores. We hope the emphasis on teaching the things measured by tests helps children learn to read and compute. The emphasis on raising test scores served several purposes. Higher test scores mean that the school gets a reputation for being a "good" school. "Good" schools attract "better" students. Staff at "good" schools get promotions in the school hierarchy. (Sometimes, awful teachers, who can not be fired, are pushed up the ladder in order to get them out of direct contact with student.) Higher test scores mean that parents want to move into the school neighborhood.

Higher scores in suburban districts means higher real estate values. In some Massachusetts towns, realtors advertise homes using the school as the major selling point, "Pierce School Neighborhood, three bedroom, dutch gambrel." We know, however, that higher scores may not induce higher real estate values in ghettos. Although an "effective" school has been cited in the South Bronx (P.S. 234), not many people move to the South Bronx in search of good schooling.

The focus on raising test scores in urban schools may induce taxpayers to believe that they are getting "something" for their money. Since the schools rely on property taxes, school people hope that a rise in standardized test scores will cause a decrease in squeals of pain when the property tax rate rises. When the newspaper inevitably prints the annual listing of test scores school by school, it is hoped that city schools will be able to justify their raison d'etre. City schools hope that a rise in test scores will argue the importance of school in achievement. Increasing school effects argue for a monetary investment by property taxpayers in schools. About 80-85% of total school revenues are devoted to paying the salaries of the adults who work in the schools. Educators take credit for school effects when the scores rise. When scores go down, educators blame home effects, T.V., Vietnam and permissiveness.

Whether or not the emphasis on the narrow range of school skills measurable by multiple choice tests is correct, effective schools focus on raising test scores. In the observations of schools which follow, the emphasis on raising test scores is a major part of the work of the adults in these schools. In each of the schools, the emphasis on basic skills and the evaluation of student achievement helps the adults to see how far they've come and how far they have to go. We observed some schools which work for poor children.

As you read the observations, keep in mind this definition. A grade equivalent is a converted score expressed in terms of a scale in which the grade is a unit of measurement. It indicates the grade level of the group for which the score is typical or average. For example, a grade equivalent of 6.4 is interpreted as the fourth month of the sixth grade.

3. OBSERVATIONS OF SCHOOLS THAT WORK

-- Richmond, Virginia

-- Baltimore, Maryland

-- New York, New York

Richmond, Virginia has a school system which is in transition to effectiveness. The system has a superintendent who is a planner and an instructional leader. The system emphasizes instruction in basic skills in reading and mathematics. There is continuous student assessment. School climate is improving because of the existence of a concise code of discipline which outlines the consequences of unacceptable behavior. Teachers have high expectations for success based on increasing levels of professional competence and resultant student success.

This analysis is based on interviews with senior managers, principals, teacher association executive officers, curriculum specialists, program directors, and classroom teachers. This section of the report outlines the basis for the determination that Richmond has a system in transition to effectiveness. The discussion will look at the goals in the areas of achievement, leadership, instruction and climate.

Richmond, former capital of the Confederacy, has a city population which is 51% black. The city has a black mayor, black city manager, black majority city council, black fire chief, black postmaster, black judges, black superintendent of schools and 70% black teaching staff.

The Richmond City Schools serve a student population which is 83% black and predominantly poor. Twenty-eight (28) of the system's twenty-nine (29) elementary schools are Title I eligible.

Title I provided 7 million of the system's 55 million dollar 1981-82 budget. Approximately 59% of the system's students are eligible for the free lunch program. Elementary remedial classes have a 20:1 pupil/teacher ratio and eighth grade remedial classes have a 25:1 pupil/teacher ratio. Average class size in grades 1, 2, 3 is 25 students. Total per pupil expenditure in 1980-81 was $2,507. Local funds provided $1,444 of the per pupil expenditure.

Since the implementation of court-ordered desegregation in 1972, Richmond's student population has stabilized at about 31,250 students. Since 1972, enrollment has declined by 10,000 black and white students. The president of the teachers' association commented on the flight of the middle class, "We found ourselves in a situation where the cream was constantly being skimmed. We just keep on developing more cream from the students we have left in the system. Every time it's skimmed, we develop more. We know it can be done with our students and we do it!"

This statement captures the philosophy and goals of every adult that we interviewed in the city schools. Higher expectations for achievement and adult and student accountability appear to be the theme for the system. Achievement and accountability were mentioned by senior managers, principals, teachers, middle managers and program directors. The philosophy, goals and objectives of the system are well-written, well-defined, well-articulated and evidently well-communicated up and down the chain of command. I was struck by the coherence and constancy of the theme but was very impressed when they were reiterated at an after hours social gathering I serendipitously attended.

Since 1974 when the present superintendent was promoted to the office, the system has had raising student achievement as its primary goal.* Policy, planning, development, management, budgeting, instruction, in-service training, career development, parent participation and evaluation are pointed towards raising scores on standardized achievement tests. Whether or not most educators agree that this is a reasonable goal given various opinions about the use of standardized tests, Richmond knows where it is going and is now engaged in the business of getting there. Since 1971, as the school population has gotten blacker and poorer, achievement test scores have risen. Fourth grade scores, the point where blacks begin their achievement decline, follow. (See chart, "SRA Reading Grade 4 Mean Percentile Scores." National norms are the 50th percentile.) Grade 5 scores while slightly below national norms are expected to rise during the 1981-82 school year.

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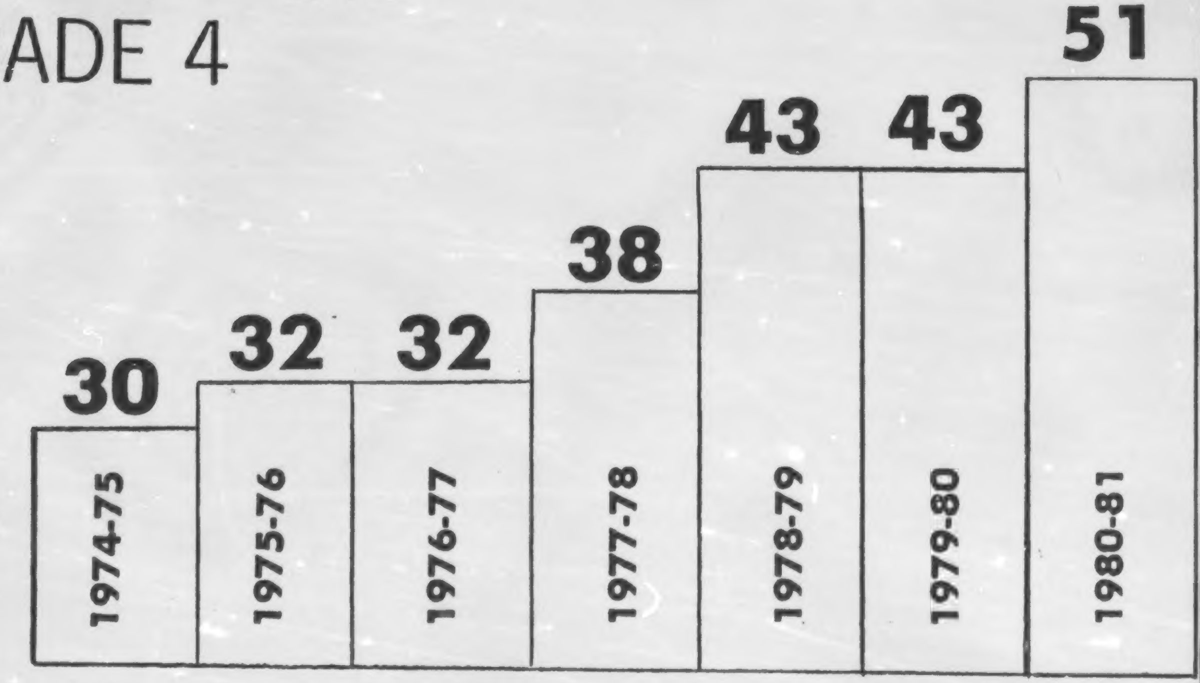
* Seems like an obvious goal for a school system, huh? As obvious as this seems, many big city systems operate as though their primary goal was providing employment for adults, winning political battles, appeasing the media, satiating the desires of businessmen or justifying their increasing bite of the tax dollar or blaming parents for system failure or a host of other functions which are off the point. Schools have been forced to do all these things which divert attention from the goal of raising achievement. Exceptional systems Richmond, rededicate themselves to their manifest function -- teaching children.

The focus on all encompassing goals allows the system to assess its accomplishments and alter its priorities to take into account what does or does not happen in classrooms. This fine-tuning of a bureaucracy to take into account what happens in individual classrooms is extremely rare. The level of analysis of system performance is at the individual classroom rather than at the building level. The focus on achievement scores allows the adults who run the schools to have a concrete, well-understood point of departure which guides their professional actions. Principals and teachers know what they are responsible for accomplishing. They, with appropriate supportive guidance from central administration, determine how to raise achievement. Parents, students, and the larger community have concrete reference points for determining the quality of schooling received.

RICHMOND PUBLIC SCHOOLS DEPARTMENT OF PLANNING & DEVELOPMENT

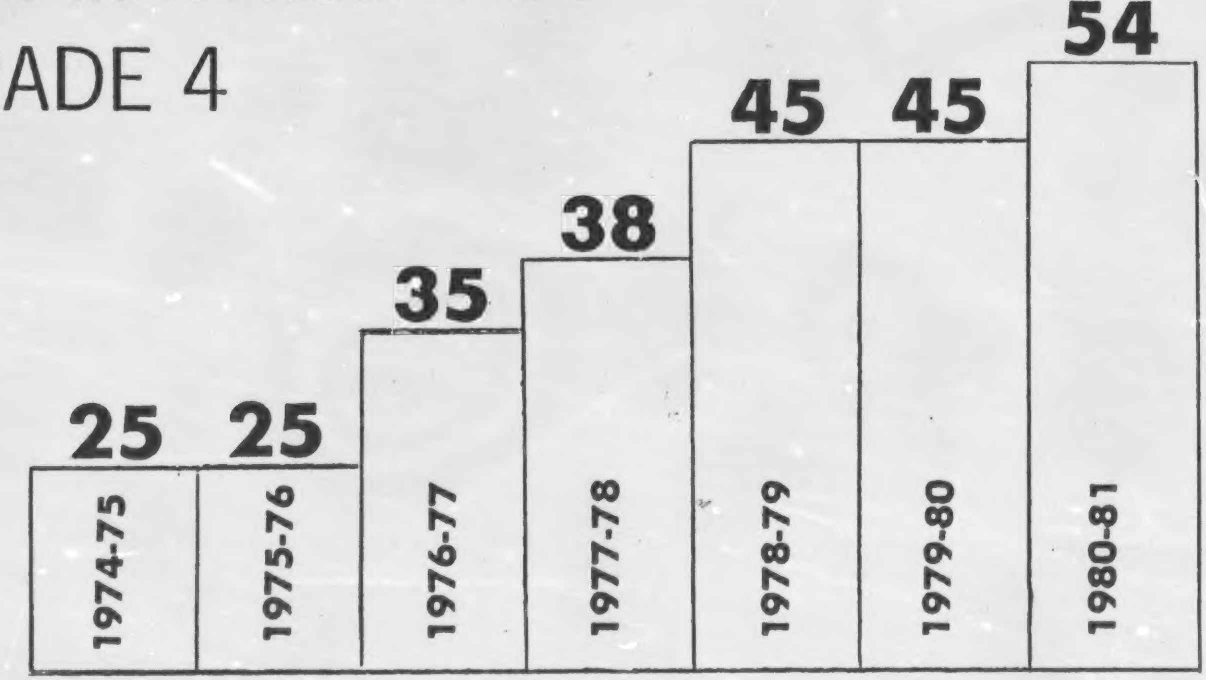
SRA READING GRADE 4



MEAN PERCENTILE SCORES

RICHMOND PUBLIC SCHOOLS
DEPARTMENT OF PLANNING & DEVELOPMENT

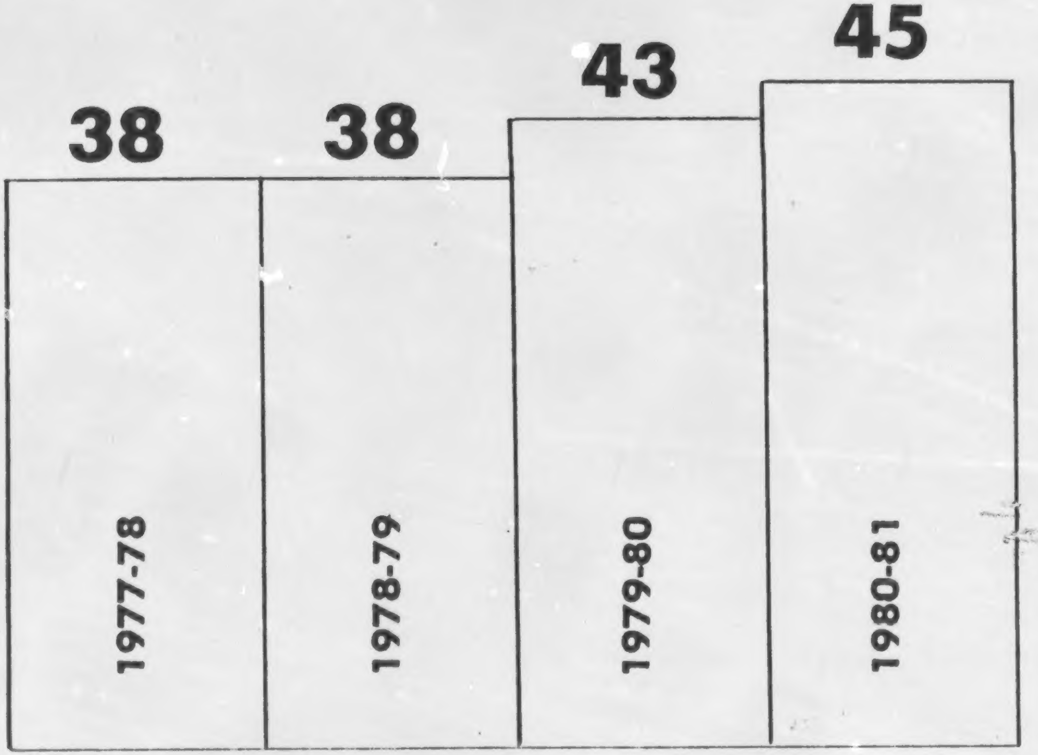
SRA MATHEMATICS
GRADE 4



MEAN PERCENTILE SCORES

RICHMOND PUBLIC SCHOOLS
DEPARTMENT OF PLANNING & DEVELOPMENT

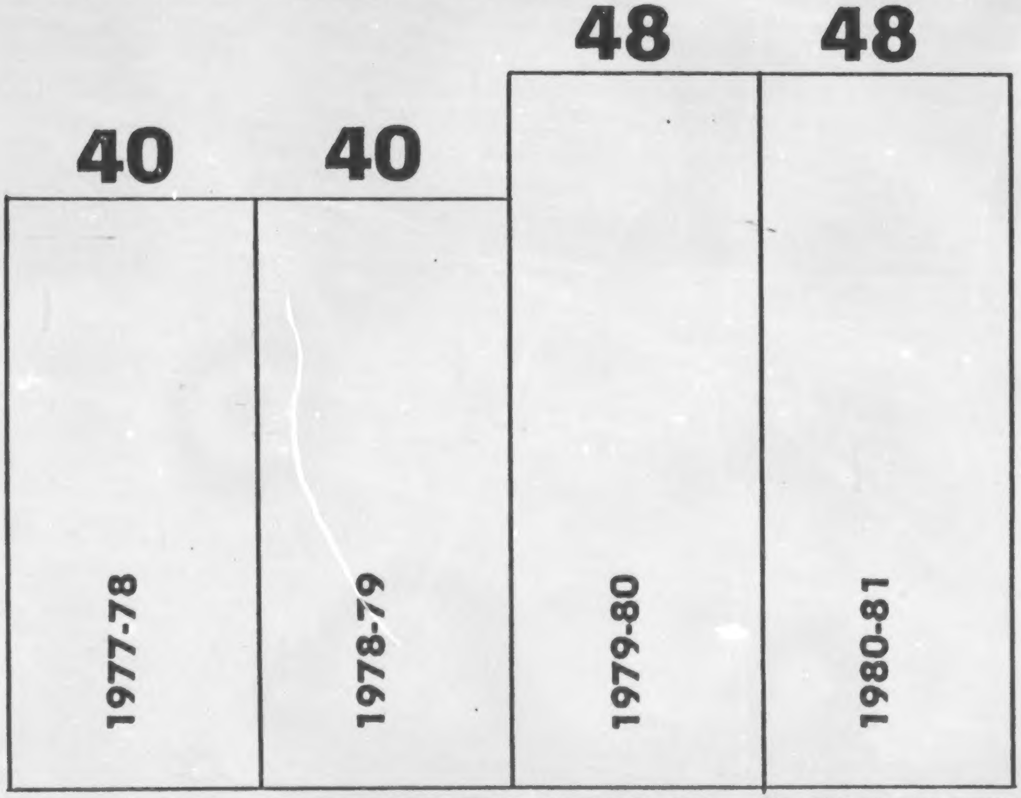
SRA READING GRADE 5



MEAN PERCENTILE SCORES

RICHMOND PUBLIC SCHOOLS
DEPARTMENT OF PLANNING & DEVELOPMENT

SRA MATHEMATICS GRADE 5



MEAN PERCENTILE SCORES

Here is an example of the system's efforts to focus itself on achievement scores by raising the scores of the lowest scoring students.* The objective is modest; raise the scores of these students at least one month for every month of instruction. Policy, planning and central management get in gear to help classroom teachers accomplish this goal.

First, a compulsory remedial/intervention program is established and funded. Students are identified and placed on the basis of test scores. Second graders who score below 1.7 (first grade, seventh month) and fifth and eighth graders who score two years below grade level are placed in the same grade for another school year. The goal of raising achievement of these students necessitates certain choices based on what has been written and is known about these learners. Our interviews with the system's senior cabinet officers indicate that research findings help guide major policy decisions. The results of research filter down to classrooms. For instance, time-on-task studies led to the policy directive that elementary students in intervention programs must receive 2 1/2 hours per day in "directed communicative arts instruction."

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* Typically, systems focus improvement efforts at middle scorers because the highest scorers and the lowest scorers will probably make negligible gains. Highest scorers are neglected because they have almost reached the ceiling of scores; targeting them is considered a waste of resources, time and effort given the probability of a slight pay-off. The emphasis on lowest scorers bespeaks a philosophy which can be interpreted as supportive of low SES black students, who are usually the lowest scorers.

The system chooses the "best" teachers (who usually have six or more years of experience according to expert testimony in Hobson v. Hansen). Because (intervention) teachers have more seniority, a substantial proportion of salary costs must be targeted to this area. The "best" is winnowed out from among a pool of applicants who are personally interviewed by the Superintendent's senior cabinet. Each of the elementary remedial teachers is assigned an aide (more system resources devoted to staffing). Phi Delta Kappan (1980) mentions the importance of increasing the number of adults in the classroom in order to raise achievement. The system gives merit pay bonuses to staff, from janitor to principal, at the elementary and middle and high school which make the greatest gain on standardized tests (substantial resources devoted here in order to achieve the goal of raising scores).

Remedial classes are placed in the mainstream of the building instead of under the stairs, in closets, or in the basement as is often the case. These classrooms are mandated by central administration to be clean (janitors), physically attractive, well-equipped with a variety of supplementary materials and equipment (book and media purchases).

Achievement of individual students in remedial classes is tracked from system-wide tests down to tests at the end of a unit of classroom work. Teachers turn in these end of unit test scores to the central testing department. This choice requires commitment of computer time, commitment of personnel (the "testing lady" and her staff) to handle the massive amounts of data generated and analyzed on a student-by-student, classroom-by-classroom, teacher-by-teacher basis. The "testing lady" and her staff have the power to make things happen based on student/classroom results. The "testing lady" hires test company consultants to train building staffs. The testing lady has implemented a full-scale "Assessment Sophistication" Program with its own locally generated 200 page textbook. All teachers are given in-service training. It must be remembered that each of the above choices demands a commitment of money.

The testing lady is a "Mrs.," not a "Dr.," who is part of the department of planning development. She reports directly to the Superintendent although she technically is on the staff of the Planning and Development Department. The testing lady has her role because she is excellent. She has the authority delegated directly from the Superintendent's right-hand "man." [Curiously, given the typically low career level of women in public education, 4 out of 7 members of the Superintendent's Senior Management Cabinet are female. One of the male Senior Cabinet members has an all-female staff of managers.] Remedial teachers across the city are given, as a group, special in-service training in teaching low achievers (money). There is a curriculum specialist in every building (money) who coordinates and monitors student progress in remedial programs and regular classrooms. Some curriculum specialists decided that they would personally adminster all tests. There are a host of other building specific choices which require resource allocation in order to raise the achievement of the lowest scores. Each year, the system attempts to decrease the number of students enrolled in remedial classes. Membership in these classes has been decreasing the enrollment figures and achievement gains follow.

These conscious choices then require budgeting which makes money available at all these decision points. The system sets the goal, sets out the enabling conditions and factors necessary to achieve the goal, selects the best choices from among those enabling factors and sees that the money is placed in the proper spot to support the choices which fulfill the plan which operationalizes the goal of raising achievement. Richmond has achieved its goal of at least one month's gain for one month of instruction in remedial classes. Across the city, all elementary grades are scoring at and above national norms.

Eighth grade remedial scores are not good at all. We sat in a Senior Cabinet meeting which discussed new goals for eighth graders. Preliminary brainstorming included plans to put these students in more self-contained supportive settings. The senior managers considered using elementary teachers who know how to teach basic reading and elementary mathematics in these classrooms (English teachers do not necessarily know how to teach phonics, work attack skills, nasal fricatives and consonant blends -- basic reading). Elementary teachers have specific training in putting all these elements together to teach people to read. They are now evaluating for possible citywide implementation of a program developed at one building by a curriculum specialist.

The next round of policy, planning, budgeting and implementation will focus on middle school achievement. This tortuous example hopefully illustrates this critical point. Richmond's goals drive the bureaucracy. The bureaucracy is not an automatic pilot en route to rationalizing its own existence and growth. The bureacracy has a reason for existing -- serving clients.

The citizens and business community have evaluated and legitimized the system in very direct, dramatic and positive ways. Parents and other citizens turned out at a city council meeting to request a property tax increase in order to level fund the school budget for 1981-82. The council, up for re-election originally proposed an 8 million dollar decrease in funding. In early May, 2 million had been restored and the Superintendent and the Mayor were still negotiating. The rise in achievement has had other positive by-products. Over the next three years, starting with senior high schools in 1980-81 and middle and elementary schools in turn, businesses are enthusiastically joining a pairing program. A bank vice-president jumped the gun by insisting that the elementary school that his child attends be paired with his bank two years ahead of schedule. The program is called the "Adopt-A-School Program."*

The entire city supports the job that is being done in the schools. As achievement scores have risen, media attention and commentary has become more and more positive. Two thousand (2000) citizens turned out to see a high school play. The play was performed twice that night because the producers had not expected such a tremendous response. Parents are increasingly satisfied and involved because the schools are increasingly successful. Success breeds success and participation.

Richmond is becoming more successful, in part, because the schools are organized and run for children. For example, a single reading series, employing a phonics-linguistic approach, is used across the city at every elementary school. Although most teachers are satisfied that it's a "good" series, goodness was not the

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* This is an unfortunate choice of terms; the Richmond City Schools are definitely not orphans and should neither be portrayed nor considered as such. The schools and businesses should be considered partners considering the important part that the Richmond City School will play in adding to businesses' bottom lines. Richmond, a sun-belt city which is attracting newcomers and new businesses, will hold out its improving school system as a carrot for new industry.

the primary reason for the one book policy. The reason for the policy is the high mobility of the school population. No matter where in the city the student's family moves, she will be taught to read using the same book with the same method. Some teachers, of course, would prefer another book, but until the teachers' association can reach a consensus about which single reading series is most appropriate, there will be no change. Teachers are permitted to use a wide variety of supplementary materials, however.

While the emphasis on raising test scores might limit curriculum and instruction to those low order skills which can be assessed by multiple choice, standardized tests, there is no indication that this is the case. Based on classroom observations, examination of curriculum guides, program descriptions and discussions with teachers, curriculum specialists, in-service trainers and federal program coordinators, it appears that instruction is neither totally controlled by nor limited to materials included in the tests. The curriculum seems robust, varied and pointed towards excellence. There is, of course, a heavy emphasis on reading, mathematics, oral and written communication. Arts, humanities and science programs are highly organized and coordinated. During the week of observations, a different program of dramatic, visual or musical arts was held nightly.

The superintendent and all of his senior managers are experts in curriculum. (In many urban school systems, the emphasis for superintendents and senior staff is political science and management. In Richmond, the superintendent handles politics and staff handles teaching and learning.) The concern for curriculum and instruction is reinforced by extensive in-service training and career development. All of the senior managers, while relatively old hands in the system, have relatively new doctorates. Many middle managers, program directors and principals have or are working on doctorates. Elementary teachers receive in-service training four times per year. In 1980, school board policy required that every teacher in the system take a course in the teaching of reading in order to receive a salary increment. There was 100% participation. The adults in the system continually sharpen or are forced to sharpen their professional skills in an effort to focus instruction in the basic skills.

Continuous student evaluation is considered an integral partner of curriculum expansion and instruction. Teachers and administrators are involved in an on-going "assessment sophistication program." Custodians and secretaries are made aware by the "testing lady" that screaming at children on test day may negatively affect achievement scores. Students and staff are accustomed to on-going assessment.

The student assessment program entails standardized testing from kindergarten through grade twelve. There are state and local competency tests for graduation and a city requirement for writing proficiency. Semester examinations in grades 6-12 will be required in school year 1981-82. At second, fifth and eighth grade, achievement checkpoints have been established. Individualized instruction kits are used in remedial classes. As students complete a section of instruction, the kit includes a test. The score on each unit test for each child is reported to the "testing lady's" staff which continuously compiles an achievement portrait for each child. The only scores not reported are surprise quizzes and other teacher-made tests. A student who leaves the Richmond Public Schools, no matter the level of achievement, knows what a test looks like.

Classroom observations were conducted in remedial 2nd grades (PEP-UP Program), 5th grades (Pre-Middle) and remedial 8th grades (Pre-High). Remedial classes were observed because a tax-supported social service system must be judged by the treatment it provides its lowest achievers. Richmond, it seems, believes that it will raise achievement scores and increase learning by concentrating resources on scoring up these lowest scorers. The system's remedial program, which is called an "intervention" program, is compulsory. The purpose for the intervention is to decrease the number of students who need the program over time. The chart following shows the decrease in membership in intervention programs and gains in reading and mathematics.

APPENDIX III

RICHMOND PUBLIC SCHOOLS
Department of Elementary Education

PEP-UP and Pre-Middle Progress Report
For Fall 1974-Spring 1980

	Program	Year	Membership	Gain	
				Reading	Mathematics
2nd Grade	PEP-UP Science Research Associates Achievement Test (SRA)	1977-78	422	1.3	1.1
		1978-79	304	1.4	0.9
		1979-80	281	1.5	1.1
5th Grade	Pre-Middle *California Test of Basic Skills (CTBS)	1974-75	800	1.0	N/A
		1975-76	509	1.0	N/A
		1976-77	342	1.0	N/A
		1977-78	262	0.9	N/A
	Pre-Middle Science Research Achievement Test (SRA)	1978-79	389	1.1	0.8
		1979-80	451	1.2	2.1

* CTBS used through 1977-78 school year.

** No analysis of gain in mathematics for Pre-Middle students was made until the 1978-79 school year.

Real remediation occurs and not only on paper. Students are given an entirely new instructional program, rather than the traditional repeat of the same material, same style of instruction. A single reading series which employs the phonolinguistic approach and is different from that in regular classes is used in remedial programs across the city. Money is allocated for the program. As strange as it seems, some legislation at city or state levels which mandates remediation, neither provides nor requires resource allocation for these programs. The best teachers teach in the remedial programs. Each candidate is interviewed by a committee of senior managers on the superintendent's staff. (In many remedial programs, teachers are assigned because they are being punished. Some programs use teachers without enough seniority to request transfer to the "better" schools or programs. Some use teachers who are not certified in appropriate areas.) Remedial teachers across the city are given in-service training, together. This group provides opportunity for sharing skills and support. Brookover (1979) notes the positive effect on achievement of joint planning by teachers.

Students are not tracked into remedial programs and lost. Students are expected to gain one month for one month of instruction. Remedial programs last one year. Students not at grade level after remediation are slotted for extra help when placed in the regular program, tested at the next checkpoint and given another year of intensive remediation. Those students who catch up in the remedial classes are placed in the correct graduating class. Senior managers are now trying to cope with the problem of sophisticated eighth graders who realize that remediation only lasts one school year. Some students realize that they actually don't have to put forth a great deal of effort because they will be placed in the regular program.

The aim of curriculum specialists and classroom teachers is to decrease the number and percentage of students who must be placed in remedial programs each year. Wherever we went, teachers and specialists mentioned the size of the decrease in the number of students in remedial programs. Two curriculum specialists projected that within 2-3 years, there would no longer be a need for a remedial program in their building.

Student progress is evaluated on a case by case basis at the classroom and central administration level. The results of this evaluation allow central administration to plan policy which can respond to the needs of these learners. For example, in-service training in teaching the slow learner was made available to all teachers.

Classroom observations in the remedial program were encouraging because they show what schools are capable of doing with low achievers. Instead of the boredom of students and despair of teachers that one traditionally observes in "basic" track programs, students were engaged in real learning and were aware of it. Teachers were engaged in real teaching, and were aware of it. Administrative regulations from the Superintendent's office specify that remedial progams are to be centrally placed in the building, side by side with regular classrooms. (Special needs and low track programs are traditionally placed in basements, closets, or under the stairs.) Bright, attractive displays of student work are required. Clean classrooms and decoration are required. Although these things seem like necessities to laymen, these things are not considered necessary in schools.

We were impressed by the enthusiasm of the students and the competence of the teachers. In a 2nd grade, PEP-UP program, we observed four students aged 11-13 who had been put back at this level. The girls actively participated in the lesson even though they were three to five years older than their classmates, a head taller than the other children, and being observed by strangers. The students sounded out letters, gave words starting with indicated blends and read sentences in this whole group activity. [Murname and Phillips (1978) suggest that whole group learning works well with low socio-economic status students (SES).] All of the twenty children participated readily and hands were everywhere in evidence. Each child was called on in turn to work at the board. Three of the little boys raised their hands so enthusiastically that they fell out of their chairs on the floor.

Children at other tables felt this was such a fine idea that they too fell out of their chairs. The teacher called on the fallers, one at a time and without missing a beat, righted chairs and placed two or three children in them. She never said a word, never stopped teaching and the children mysteriously got the idea that they were not to fall out of their chairs again. The atmosphere was businesslike but jolly. This was a lively class and a learning class. All of the children who fell out of their chairs performed the assigned task perfectly. Before changing the focus to another area of reading, the teacher led the boys and girls through about two minutes of calisthenics. She satisfied the obvious need for physical activity. All of the teacher's time was spent teaching. Although the students were having fun, most of their time was spent on task. The amount of concentrated time spent on teaching and learning is a crucial factor in achievement. That makes sense, the more time spent on teaching and learning, rather than discipline or conflict, the greater the opportunity for learning. The room was spotless, and beautifully decorated with prominently displayed student work. The pace was quick, but not quick enough to lose the class, and every child was given an opportunity to participate.

During the tour of an open space junior high school, an experimental program was explained. The curriculum specialist, who is on the same staff line as an assistant principal, described the experiment she was conducting with a group of seventh grade students. [A curriculum specialist in every building is a relatively rare phenomenon. Usually, curriculum specialists work with several schools and float throughout the system. The curriculum specialist is key in Richmond because she coordinates the testing program. If the principal is not, or cannot be, the instructional leader, the curriculum specialist can.]

Tests predicted that these seventh graders would be candidates for the remedial program at the end of the eighth grade. The specialist selected sixty of these children. She told them that they would probably be placed in the remedial program if they did not put forth extra effort in the program she had devised for their seventh grade year. Only ten of the students predicted to fail actually failed.

The specialist received permission from central administration to conduct the experiment. Central administration is now looking at her results to determine if the program should be implemented throughout the secondary level. In several instances, programs originally suggested by innovative teachers, specialists and principals were adopted system-wide. Richmond is a relatively small system, but if good ideas from more than 2,000 teachers and administrators can float to the highest level of the system, channels of communication up and down are relatively clear and open. However, conversations with teachers and principals indicate that horizontal lines of communication between teachers and teachers, and principals and principals, need to be recognized and formalized by central administration. Teachers want to know what happens in other buildings and programs. They need to see the "big picture."

Communication between federal compensatory programs and regular classroom teachers is extensive. Teachers in programs which pull students out of the classroom plan and share with regular classroom teachers so that the child receives initial instruction and reinforcement of the same topic at the same time. This instruction/reinforcement model is administered by a federal program staff which facilitates scheduling, insures that joint planning occurs and develops curriculum. Joint planning insures that compensatory students will not miss regular instruction and fall further behind while receiving remediation. Federal program administrators plan citywide mathematics and reading programs which reduce the potential isolation and stigmatization of compensatory education students. Coordination of federal programs with regular classroom instruction is rare. In some school systems, a single student is pulled out for as many as four remedial reading programs which use various methods. No coordination between teachers, aides and tutors is attempted. The student falls further behind as a result of missing substantial periods of regular instruction.

During another school visit, the remedial program which the system uses was explained by the elementary principal who originally proposed it. The principal, whose school was built to service a public housing project, believed that some of her students could benefit from an extra year of re-teaching in basic skills. She was granted permission to implement her proposal. Her idea worked so well that it was adopted citywide.

The remedial classroom observed in this elementary school and the school itself, which served the poorest of the poor, were models of effective education coupled with a good school/community partnership. This traditional, "good feeling" school had a very competent principal from the old school who believes that welfare parents can be volunteers. She explained to her parents that volunteerism doesn't require wealth. Parents run the free breakfast program so that teachers can plan during the first half hour of the school day. Volunteers act as lunchroom monitors and playground aides. The principal runs a tight ship and parents are crew members.

The school climate was orderly, relatively quiet but not repressive. Her expectation that teachers, students and parents participate and achieve excellence was clear. No excuses from anybody were expected and none seemed to be given. Poverty could not be used as an excuse for low teacher expectations, non-participation by parents or low achievement by students. As she showed us to the classroom to be observed she said, "This school is laid out perfectly, I can walk along this corridor and see what's going on everywhere." As we moved through the building, the principal stopped her rounds, asked a third grade class their field trip destination, what they would be seeing and why they were going. She received the appropriate responses. Two teenagers, one male and one female, were at the end of the line. "Glad to see you," the principal said as she marched off down the corridor. We later learned that the two "teenagers" were parents.

A printed master schedule of daily activities is given to parents. The schedule is tight and is reproduced on the following page. The principal moves around the building, into and out of classrooms. She's checking. The school is spotless, rooms are attractive and chock full of equipment and materials. Materials and equipment stockpiled during almost 18 years of federal programs are in good shape, catalogued and available, although well used.

The principal is clearly the building and instructional leader. She explained the differences between various reading approaches and explained why the various instructional methods observed worked better with different groups of children. She explained what the librarian was doing. The librarian was sitting in a rocking chair readinga Greek classic aloud and emoting. She had been trained in dramatics at Emerson College in Boston. The third

FAIRFIELD COURT SCHOOL
MASTER SCHEDULE

Length of Day

Office Staff	- 8:00 a.m. - 4:00 p.m.
Faculty	- 8:20 a.m. - 3:20 p.m.
Students	- 9:00 a.m. - 3:10 p.m.
Cafeteria Staff	7:30 a.m. - 3:30 p.m.
Custodial Staff	7:00 a.m. - 5:00 p.m.

Instructional Block

8:20 - 8:50 a.m. - Teacher Planning Time in Classroom

8:50 a.m. - Classrooms open to students

9:00 - 9:20 a.m. - Pupil independent work period [teachers have breakfast with bused in students]

9:20 - 9:30 a.m. - Formal Class Opening -[Late formal opening means no one is late. Tardiness by student or staff is not accepted.]

Moment of Silence

Pupil-Teacher Conference and Planning Time

9:30 - 2:40 p.m. - Curriculum Instructional Time

Daily time allotment:

2 hours - English Language Arts
Reading; oral and written expression, handwriting, spelling

1 hour - Mathematics

½ hour - Physical Ed. and Health Ed.

45 minutes- Lunch, quiet rest/quiet games (Early Childhood students)

1½ hours for Kindergarten level

40 minutes- Science, Social Studies, Music, Art (Alternate Days or Integrated)

2:40 - 2:50 p.m. - Evaluation for day; homework assignment

2:50 - 3:10 p.m. - Independent Reading/Dismissal as Scheduled/End of Student's Day

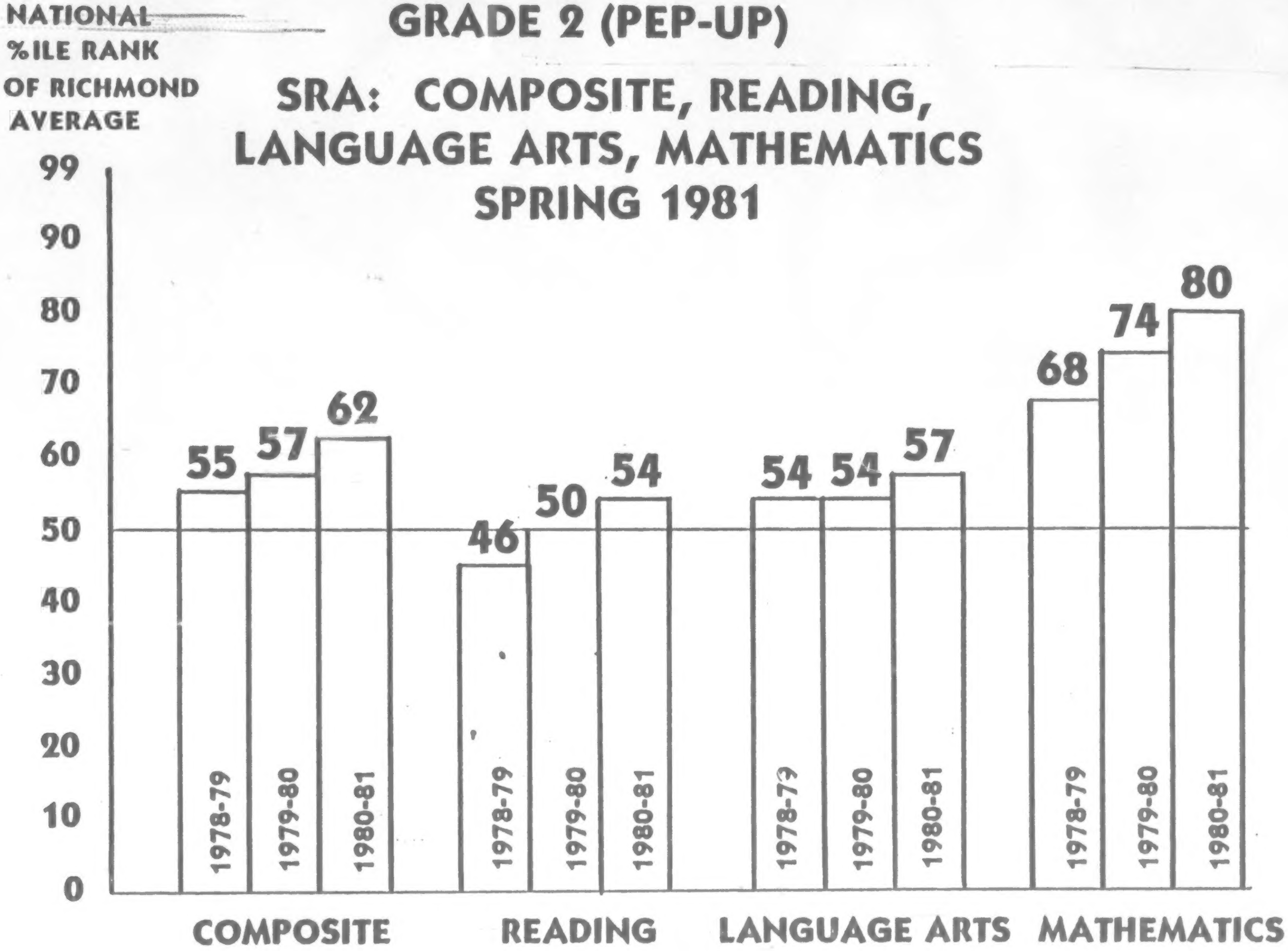
3:20 p.m. End of Teacher's Day

RICHMOND PUBLIC SCHOOLS TEST DATA 1980-81

GRADE 2 (PEP-UP)

SRA: COMPOSITE, READING, LANGUAGE ARTS, MATHEMATICS

SPRING 1981



grade children sitting around her on the floor were enthralled and so were the guests. Fairfield's mean percentile scores for its second grade remedial class, spring 1981, are pleasant and are cited:

SRA 1980-81	
Ability	48
Composite	82
Reading	69
Language Arts	76
Mathematics	96

These children who have had 2 years of second grade are compared with children who have had one year of second grade. Second grade remedial scores across the city follow. I like the mathematics scores. (National norm is 50th percentile.)

The city schools have a code of conduct which has been ratified by parents, is brief, explicitly outlines forbidden behavior and its consequences. Obviously aimed at improving school climate across the city, the code is being enforced. During a visit to a senior high school in a relatively low SES neighborhood, the principal looked puzzled when asked where the students were. "They're in class!" It was 11:30 in the morning and the observer is used to seeing high school students in the halls or on the campus during class periods. The halls and the front of the building were deserted. Students suddenly appeared when the lunch bell rang. Even then, the students were relatively quiet and extremely orderly. Most who passed spoke to the principal and she responded to them by name.

There was no marijuana odor, the building was clean and the students were business-like and orderly. Although these things may appeal like the basic ingredients for any high school, many urban and suburban high schools across the nation are in a state of disarray and chaos. The principal talked about the types of academic, emotional and social support mechanisms that she and her staff provide to students who often have few support mechanisms in place at home. "This is the place they come to get support and something is expected from them," she said.

Richmond has three high school complexes composed of seven separate high school buildings. Declining enrollments forced the planned closing of four of the seven buildings. Parent protests over the planned closing of two historic, black high schools forced the system to come up with creative alternatives to closings.

Each of the three high school complexes has a coordinating principal who works with the principal at each high school in the complex and the principals at its feeder middle schools. Pairs or triples of principals work together to schedule classes and trade or share teachers as appropriate. The high school complex allows a wide range of course offerings. Students take special courses at any building in their complex. Some complexes offer as many as 150 courses.

The creative solution to parent dissatisfaction also works to satisfy parent requests when they are not dissatisfied. Parents requested and were granted a military magnet school at the secondary level. It was difficult to gauge school personnel pleasure or displeasure about this parental suggestion, regardless, parents got what they wanted. The principal of this school, a retired colonel, is very concerned about student discipline issues and constitutional rights.

Parent satisfaction and the active encouragement of participation are key elements of the system's transition to effectiveness. Teachers and aides in remedial programs are required to make home visits to explain and keep parents abreast. Edmonds (1981) believes that parent participation is a highly desirable, but not required element of effective schools. "There are," he said in a February 1981 address, "highly effective schools with a high degree of parent involvement. There are also highly effective schools with little or no parent involvement." Edmonds believes that parent participation should not be a requirement for the transition to effectiveness. Such a requirement is out of the schools' control and provides an excuse for the adults who run the schools to shirk their duty when participation is not forthcoming.

Parents are involved in many aspects of the school program. Parent organizations are asked to ratify or reject school policy. Parents ratified a homework every night in every classroom policy.

Parents sign-off on assignments every night. Richmond's Parent Involvement Follow-Through Program has been cited as an exemplary program by the federal Joint dissemination Review Panel Department of Education. Some parents who have participated in the Follow-Through Program have earned high school equivalency diplomas. One parent started without a high school diploma and earned a Master's degree. [For a description of Richmond's Parent Involvement Program, see Education Programs THAT WORK by the National Diffusion Network.]

Parents feel free to call the superintendent directly whenever they have concerns. In fact, parents call so frequently (sometimes to chat), that the superintendent has had to make arrangements to screen calls from gabbers. This freedom to call is consistent with Hugh Scott's (1980) findings on the relationship between black superintendents and the community. According to Scott, chumminess and familiarity can be positive as a support mechanism for black superintendents but dysfunctional and problematic in some instances. For now, in Richmond, there are few problems.

Richmond's superintendent clearly sets the tone for the system and is its instructional leader. He is a planner and manager. He is a very strong superintendent who heads a centralized system over which has complete control. He has been superintendent in Richmond for 7 years and recently received a contract for four more years with a substantial salary increase. The average tenure for a big city superintendent is two to three years. In comparison, the District of Columbia has had twelve superintendents in the last nine years. The Boston Public Schools had three superintendents during the 1980-81 school year and will have a new superintendent, on a one-year contract, during the 1981-82 school year.

Richmond's superintendent has been characterized as a benevolent despot. His benevolence works for the students in the system to whom he believes he is directly accountable. All matters of student assessment and test achievement are directly supervised by and reported to him. Student assessment is organizationally placed in the office for planning and development. "The testing lady" is the superintendent's right hand who works closely with and reports directly to him. His focus is assessment and achievement so the system's goal is assessment and achievement.

The superintendent uses his considerable power and authority on behalf of Richmond's children. During the fifth year of a six-year plan for raising test scores, the superintendent discovered that the achievement goals would not be met on schedule. He convened all of his top and mid-level managers and coordinating principals. He informed them all that as of the moment, the only secure jobs in the system were his and the personnel director's. They would all be fired unless the targeted achievement goals were reached. The persons who recounted this anecdote thought it was funny in retrospect. At the time it occured, everyone knew that the superintendent meant what he said -- it was not funny. All of the employees we met in a social situation considered the superintendent extremely firm, but fair in his dealings with everyone. The superintendent inspires just enough creative tension, also known as fear, to get extremely positive benefits for students from staff. His competence is acknowledged by and respected by superintendents in other cities with whom we spoke.

Richmond's superintendent can be directive, in control and slightly autocratic because state statute prohibits collective bargaining by public employees. Richmond has no teachers' union. A planned reduction in the teaching force had three criteria. Seniority was the third criteria for keeping teachers. The first criterion was endorsement, the second competence. The director of secondary instruction commented, "Seniority may mean nothing. I tell them [teachers], 'You say you have 25 years experience. That means the first year was probably creative and the next 24 were probably repeats of the first year without the creativity left. Young teachers have energy and the latest techniques. We can't fire all the young teachers.'"

The city's teachers are represented by a Professional Senate. The Senate, with representatives at each building, is consulted on policy matters by the superintendent. Its executive officers, in a group interview, expressed satisfaction with the degree of consultation with and access to the superintendent and the senior staff. They believe that individual teachers in Richmond, through the Senate, or by calling senior managers, can get any problem solved. One of the executive officers of the Senate taught English to at least one of the senior managers and one of the high school principals in the system.

The executive committee offered several examples which explained their satisfaction. The superintendent asked them what they wanted in terms of salary, benefits and the like. The Senate members went back to teachers at each building and compiled a list of desires. They presented the list to the superintendent who accepted it without comment and passed it on to the budget manager. Within two days, the list, with each element costed out, was returned to the Senate without comment. The Senate looked at the costed out list and decided the total cost was beyond reason and possibility given the total system budget. The Senate pared down its list and passed it back to the superintendent who gave them everything possible. The Senate unlike most teachers' organizations, agrees with the merit pay policy.

The Senate is very pleased about the superintendent's high regard and respect for the Student Senate. When the Afro-American newspaper asked the superintendent how it could best encourage students, he referred the publishers to the Student Senate. The

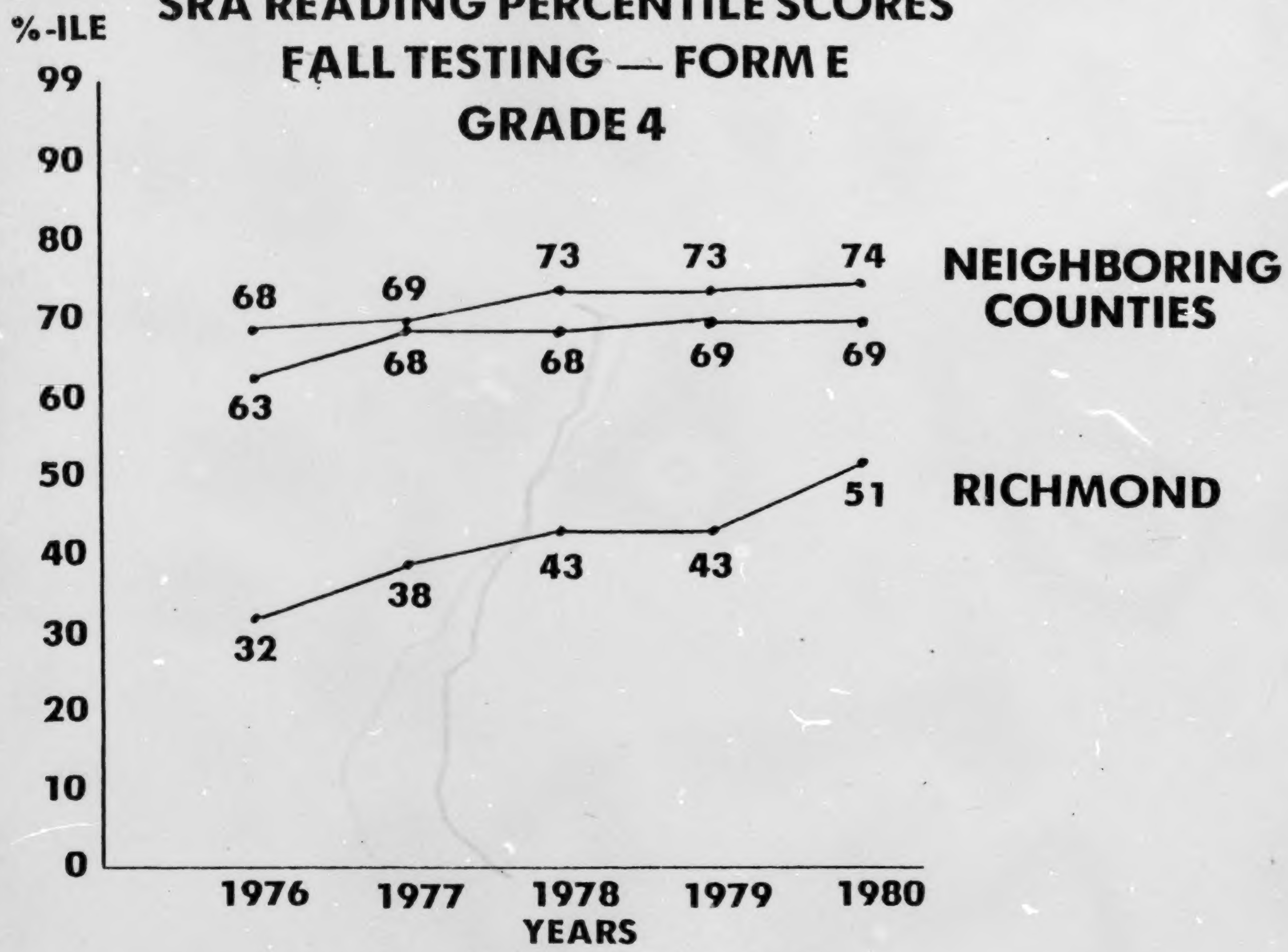
Professional Senate believes that as long as the superintendent operates in a consultative mode, there will be no agitation for collective bargaining. He gives every indication that he will continue to consult.

I was struck by the pride that teachers had in their professional ability and the achievement of their students. Teachers felt that they were part of a team. The highest paid teacher makes eighteen thousand dollars per year. This is considerably lower than teachers in most big city systems are paid. All the teachers we interviewed felt that achievement scores could only go up over time, especially since elementary preparation in the basic skills was improving. Teachers across the city are waiting to get the elementary students in the class of 1987 which already knows how to read and write. The Professional Senate Committee believed that Richmond's teachers were determined and had a duty to achieve given the lack of faith in the system that the middle-class evinced by voting with its feet during the first years of the tumultuous desegregation plan. No matter who was left in the system, the predominantly black teaching and administrative staff was determined to "show" everybody in the city and its surrounding suburbs that poor black children can learn. They have. At fourth grade, the grade where black youngsters across the country begin the achievement decline which continues through grade twelve, Richmond students are gaining one year for every year of instruction. Two suburban school districts whose achievement scores have nearly leveled off around the 69th and 74th percentiles over the last years, have requested and received permission for their administrators to have in-service training with the City schools staff. These data follow. Notice the relative "steepness" of the line. In four years, Richmond "climbed" from the 32nd to the 51st percentile. One suburb moved from the 63rd to the 69th percentile during the same four years. Another neighbor moved from the 68th to the 74th percentile. Richmond has a ways to go, but the system believes that it will dramatically narrow the achievement gap. It is important to remember, during these four years, that the student population has grown poorer and blacker.

The suburban superintendents want to find out what Richmond is doing that raises test scores for its students who are much, much less economically advantaged than their suburban peers. The City Schools are members of a consortium of suburban schools which runs a Mathematics and Science Center. The suburban school districts are actually in competition with a poor, predominantly black school system. State per pupil allocations are greater in the suburban districts than they are in Richmond.

If the superintendent is to reach the written goal of 90% employment of high school students by 1985, he will have to directly control and supervise the business/school pairing program for his

RICHMOND PUBLIC SCHOOLS
DEPARTMENT OF PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT
SRA READING PERCENTILE SCORES
FALL TESTING — FORM E
GRADE 4



THE GAP IS NARROWING

advantage in the same manner that he supervises academic achievement. His excellent rapport with business and politicians should be on a superordinate to superordinate level, now that he is getting a hold on achievement. The superintendent, as chief executive officer of an organization with a 55 million dollar budget and almost 3000 employees, is certainly the equivalent of the CEO of a medium-sized corporation.

Businesses should be asked to establish substantial trust funds for the schools rather than $1,000 donations for play production costs. These are certainly good starts and evidence that businesses will probably be asked to donate management and training personnel to work full-time in schools. Businesses should now be committing themselves to training and hiring graduates. The alternative Richmond Community High School for gifted "disadvantaged" high school students and the Open High School have been given substantial funds and have had trusts established.

The partnership with business will be especially slippery since businesses and public, non-profit institutions often speak different languages. There must be a delicate balance so that the schools get assistance and resources commensurate with the high level of good will, free advertisement, and media attention that the business community appears to be getting for its small-scale initial investment. The Adopt-A-School program is certainly a good step in the direction of graduating highly competent, employable youngsters.

It is in the best interest of the business community to support and provide resources for the schools, particularly in the face of an anticipated $6 million budget cut beginning in school year 1981-82. The slated budget cut proposed by the city was approximately $8 million. Two million dollars was restored because of the efforts of the superintendent and community people who showed up at critical city council meetings and offered to accept a raise in the property tax rate if the schools were given at least level funding. Richmond City Schools have a good base of support in parents, citizens, business and the media. As the system becomes more successful, its confidence will grow and it will become even more successful.

Conclusions

Richmond does several things which other systems can replicate. Unique features of Richmond, its lack of collective bargaining for instance, shape some worker/management interactions. But, there are other states where collective bargaining is forbidden. Teachers in Richmond because of their good relationship with the current superintendent, are not particularly bothered by the collective bargaining situation.

The most important single aspect that Richmond attends to which other systems can replicate is the almost fanatic devotion to planning and system evaluation. Planning and resource allocation require well-defined goals to drive them. Planning and budgeting follow goals and not vice-versa. Targeting student achievement as the primary system goal and anchoring that achievement in one, well-organized, accountable place or person makes system management and fiscal control much easier. Richmond has designated an accountable place, the Office of Planning and Development, and one accountable person -- the "testing lady" who reports directly to the superintendent as the locus of fine tuning the system's operation. She has the authority to make things happen (in-service training, adequate budget, qualified staff, access to all system personnel, authority to call in appropriate consultants). Any system can re-organize itself to focus on long and short ranged planning in an effort to raise achievement. It is planning and coordination which can be accessible without extravagant expenditures. Richmond's planning appears to be aided by its organizational structure.

Because of the system's relatively small size, centralization appears to work well for the Richmond Public Schools. Centralization means fewer administrators and more adults in direct contact with learners. More direct contact with learners should mean higher achievement. Of course, centralization may not work as well in larger systems but decentralization may not mean greater accountability to parents and students. In fact, decentralization may make it easier for the adults who run the schools to discharge blame to people somewhere in the distance and shirk responsibility. Whatever the organizational structure, centralization or decentralization, the rationale for its existence should be whether achievement rises. Further research which determines maximum and minimum system size for efficient centralization or decentralization is necessary. If achievement is raised as a result of decentralization and/or community control, decentralization should be the organizational structure. If centralization works to raise achievement, centralization should be the organizational structure. Politics notwithstanding, achievement is the most important thing.

Senior managers in Richmond emphasize and focus resources on developing principals as instructional leaders. Principals receive continuous in-service training in management, curriculum, personnel administration; this can be replicated in any school system. Principals are given time for training in other school districts. Principals are central players in any transition to effectiveness. Their support of change is critical for successful implementation of change.

Richmond does not appear to have an excess of charismatic leaders. They system pays close attention to what senior managers term "leadership." The system looks for competent people and then spends considerable time and money, training, developing and grooming these people for "leadership."

Staff is encouraged to get advanced degrees. The system has its own career development program which is run in concert with local universities. Every system can concentrate available resources on staff development and training.

Richmond pays close attention to in-service training in specific skills for classroom teachers. Teachers are given on-going support by curriculum specialists assigned to each building. This on-going training and support appears to give many teachers the feeling that they can teach any child who happens to show up. Self-confidence in professional skills lead to higher expectations that students can learn. Higher expectations and confidence that students will learn leads to higher achievement. Richmond can be an instructional model in its emphasis upon and allocation of substantial resources to in-service training, staff support, career development, merit pay and staff travel to observe other systems.

The system's emphasis on training is supported by planning and focused resource allocation. Requiring every teacher to take a course in the teaching of reading coupled with bonuses for achievement gains reinforces the importance of basic skills. Most teacher organizations resist the notion of merit pay which is attached to achievement gains. Richmond's teachers' association is different.

Because of or in spite of the ban on collective bargaining, the Professional Senate is supportive of the merit pay scheme and other goals of the superintendent. This may be because of his personal power (the ability to hire and fire), or because teachers understand system goals. I believe that teachers are feeling an increased sense of power because they see the results (rising test scores) of their increasing professional competence. That the superintendent and senior managers consult on major policy matters and are readily available to teachers helps to keep teachers satisfied with the system. Teacher association leadership appears enthusiastic about the rise in achievement scores. This increase has been attributed to the superintendent's personal qualities and most importantly his penchant for long-range planning and consideration of the larger picture by promoting the most qualified personnel without regard to favorites.

Professional and job satisfaction and increased stature in the community because citizens believe they are doing a good job have, for the moment, blunted the typical concern for higher salaries. As inflation gets worse, it remains to be seen whether teachers will be satisfied with an average yearly salary of approximately $14,000. In Richmond, the highest paid teacher makes approximately $18,000.

Richmond spends a considerable portion of its resources on evaluation and testing. Teachers appear to benefit from test results because they are being trained to understand them. Test results apparently help teachers gauge their professional effectiveness and provide a well-defined goal. The system attempts to provide useful, concrete information about student progress which is considered helpful. That the teachers' association is not threatened by the emphasis on standardized test results compiled on a classroom-by-classroom, teacher-by-teacher basis is remarkable. Apparently, the use to which these scores have been put -- helping the system re-adjust its operations and fine tune its planning -- is acceptable to teachers. None of the teachers interviewed questioned the use of tests. Most of them talked about achievement gains. Achievement talk took so much time, there was no mention of discipline by any of the teachers.

Along with planning, training, attention to low achievers, and evaluation, Richmond is attempting to improve the climate in schools. Its code of discipline is brief, attempts to be fair and is rigorously enforced. Violent Schools, Safe Schools: The Safe School Study Report to the U.S. Congress notes the importance of explicit, fairly applied rules for order in schools.

Richmond is in transition to effectiveness without an extraordinary amount of resources. In fact, the system is getting acceptable results at a cost of approximately $2500 per student. This is not out of the ordinary when one considers that Boston spends approximately $6300 per student according to a 1981 Boston Municipal Research Bureau Report.

The system emphasizes planning and its existing resources are efficiently placed where the need is greatest. The critical path to be plotted in the future involves maintaining elementary achievement gains and extending achievement goals into middle and high school while coping with federal and state reductions in the system's budget. Reduction in federal compensatory funds which provided approximately 12% of the 1980-81 budget will make a considerable difference. Whether the system's process of planning and operation can overcome budget cuts remains to be seen.

Richmond has a number of elements which make a lot of liberals uncomfortable. Such things as the emphasis on standardized testing, competency testing requirements for graduation, a rigid code of discipline, military magnet school, no teachers' union, autocratic superintendent, relatively little job security for teachers, and pairings with big businesses taken one at a time have traditionally worked against blacks and the poor. In Richmond, however, taken in toto, these elements help the system work for the poor. The difference may be that those who run the system have expectations for high achievement which help transcend the philosophy or methods used for increasing achievement.

We observed black children learning in open space schools, traditional classrooms, alternative schools, large groups and small groups. The instruction was diligently applied, planful and orderly. There is no one method or classroom organizational type which the system used for all students.

When teachers teach, large group instruction or small group instruction or individualization works for black children. Open classrooms or traditional classrooms work for black children. All children deserve humane, competently presented schooling experiences. The schools observed in Richmond were humane. The system cares about its children. They are its reason for being and its first concern. The schools are working to raise achievement for poor black children. The challenge for Richmond will be to maintain the elementary gains as this wave of children, the classes of 1987-92, move on into junior high school. They system has gotten its elementary students over the 4th grade hurdle. That is an accomplishment which not many urban systems have achieved.

Three Schools in Baltimore that Work

Sixteen of Baltimore City's 129 elementary schools have been characterized as effective by a Johns Hopkins University Research Study (1980). We observed one school cited by the study and two additional schools which were not cited. These schools were selected at random from six schools which fit this project's criteria. Since there are at least 19 effective elementary schools in Baltimore City, why aren't they all effective? I don't know. What I do know is that Waverly Elementary, Sarah M. Roach and Roland Park School are good.

My central administration contact assured me that the principals had been made aware of my purposes and the nature of the study. When I called to set up appointments, none of the principals had received (or read) the letter which my contact sent. Each principal said certainly come see us, then a variation of who are you and what are you doing. This was a good sign. Becker et al, (1971), note that effective elementary principals rarely pay attention to directives from central offices and often violate administrative procedures. Each principal said something like, "we have an open school," or "visitors are always welcome. We'd be happy to have you."

During the initial phone conversation, each principal mentioned the high quality of his/her teaching staff. Each principal attributed success to their teachers and not themselves. This did not seem to be false modesty; each principal seemed genuinely unaware of his/her impact. Interviews with teachers in two of the schools and with the one new principal who had taken over from a retired principal, indicated that the principal had indeed been the critical factor in the transition to effectiveness.

Along with encouraging the visit, each principal touted "the great kids in my building", "my outstanding students" and "the best little children you could have in an elementary school". The principal at the Waverly School asked if I could visit the following day because his parents would be in-house, receiving training to participate in the school's summer program. When told that I couldn't visit until the following week, the principal said, "We're having a banquet next week for the children, you'll be just in time."

The Waverly School

The Waverly School, called by its name not number by staff, sits 200 yards away from Memorial Stadium, home of the Baltimore Orioles. When the "Birds" have afternoon games, Waverly School is dismissed at noon. Waverly sits in at the crossroads of four very different neighborhoods, one very low SES black, one upper-lower SES white, one lower middle-class white and one middle middle-class white. Because of its location and possible gerrymandering of its attendance zone, Waverly's students come from the two low SES neighborhoods. Schools within a few blocks south of Waverly are Title I eligible, Waverly is not.

In February 1981, Waverly moved to its present site from an old building on the same lot. The old building was recently demolished. Waverly, a K-5 school, has a 71% black and Hispanic enrollment, about 41% of its students are eligible for free lunch. Waverly was selected for observation because the Central administration remarked that the school had made a complete turn around in the last four years from very low achievement to higher achievement.

The chart below shows Waverly's results on the citywide competency tests.

Proficiency Results - percent scoring 70% or more

Fall/Spring		Grade 3	Grade 4	Grade 5	Grade 6
Read	1978-79	24%/52%	51%/68%	27%/52%	59%/80%
	1979-80	46%/51%	/73%	/92%	no sixth grade class
Math	1978-79	24%/60%	9% /47%	5% /47%	8% /39%
	1979-80	/91%	/93%	/95%	no sixth grade class

Waverly's percent scoring 70% or more is acceptable, but what is more noteworthy is the large increase in percent of students achieving 70% or more from fall to spring. Something is happening in this school, regardless of whether the test is easy or hard, something is happening. Students at Waverly are making gains after the critical 4th grade when black kids usually begin achievement decline. The 4th grade nation norms in reading are

WAVERLY SCHOOL

PERFORMANCE ON STANDARDIZED TESTS, GRADES 4-6
SCHOOL YEARS 1977-78, 1978-79, 1979-80

Reading and Mathematics

Grade/ TEST	Skill Area	AVERAGE GRADE EQUIVALENT			AVERAGE GRADE EQUIVALENT			AVERAGE GRADE EQUIVALENT		
		Fall'77	Spr.'78	Diff	Fall'78	Spr.'79	Diff	Fall'79	Spr'80	Diff
4 California Achievement Test	Reading Vocabulary	2.9	3.5	0.6	3.4	4.0	0.6	3.4	4.8	1.4
	Reading Comprehen.	3.1	3.6	0.5	3.3	4.1	0.8	3.2	5.3	2.1
	Reading TOTAL	3.0	3.6	0.6	3.4	4.1	0.7	3.3	5.1	1.8
	Math Comprehension	3.8	4.2	0.4	3.6	4.5	0.9	3.6	5.8	2.2
	Math Application	3.3	3.9	0.6	3.0	4.0	1.0	3.4	5.4	2.0
	Math TOTAL	3.5	4.0	0.5	3.3	4.3	1.0	3.5	5.5	2.0
5 IOWA TEST OF BASIC SKILLS	Reading Vocabulary	3.8	4.4	0.6	4.0	4.7	0.7	3.9	5.9	2.0
	Reading Comprehen.	4.2	4.7	0.5	4.1	4.8	0.7	4.1	6.3	2.2
	Math Concepts	4.4	4.5	0.1	4.4	5.2	0.8	4.2	7.1	2.9
	Math Problems	4.4	4.7	0.3	4.3	5.1	0.8	4.4	6.5	2.1
	Math TOTAL	4.4	4.7	0.3	4.4	5.2	0.8	4.3	6.8	2.5
6 California Achievement Test	Reading Vocabulary	5.2	6.2	1.0	5.1	6.4	1.3			
	Reading Comprehen.	5.1	5.8	0.7	5.1	6.4	1.3			
	Reading TOTAL	5.2	5.9	0.7	5.1	6.4	1.3			
	Math Comprehension	5.6	6.7	1.1	5.6	7.6	2.0			
	Math Application	4.8	5.8	1.0	5.3	7.0	1.7			
	Math TOTAL	5.3	6.3	1.0	5.5	7.3	1.8			

4.7 grade eqivalents. Here are some scores in reading and mathematics at grades 4, 5 and 6 for the 1979-80 school year. In school year 1979-80, fifth graders gained almost 3 grade equivalents in Math concepts on the IOWA TEST OF BASIC SKILLS.

Something is happening at Waverly and that "something" is the principal. He is the building leader, the man responsible for procuring special equipment and special features in his new building (windows that open, a permanent stage, special quality carpeting, special types of chairs to match the decor), and the one who must handle kids when teachers are absolutely unable to cope. He came from a tough junior high school and Waverly is "a piece of cake. No problems. None. None." That the principal tries to get special things for his building and teachers was mentioned by several of the teachers. They believe that he supports their efforts to teach, takes good suggestions from them, gives them academic freedom and no stress.

The principal arrived at Waverly in 1977 with only four goals:

1. Improve the curriculum
2. Unify the faculty
3. Improve discipline
4. Restore the community's confidence in Waverly School.

The principal told the staff these goals and believes he is well on his way to accomplishing all four. He is extremely pleased about his summer program which he believes helps children retain gains made during the school year. Two years ago he was given a $200,000 summer program "from Florida". The "Florida" program didn't work, "wasn't worth a damn". He threw it out and got things in place so that Waverly could put together its own summer program. He and the curriculum specialist, ["This woman is a gem. I'll fight anybody to keep her."], created Waverly's own summer program at a total cost of fifty dollars ($50.00!). The fifty dollars paid for professionally printed covers and cardboard assignment packets. They already had paper. The kids love Waverly's summer program and parents are trained to help students with their daily assignments. Assignments include book lists and excercises. Books are gotten from the neighborhood library which expects to see the children from Waverly. Parents sign-off on the daily home assignment. All students, K-5 are involved in the summer program. There are no class meetings, just packets of interesting assignments for every day during the summer. Students at Waverly think that school lasts from September to September and their teachers never tell them that other schools stop working in June. Each child who completes every assignment gets a certificate and a lunch which is donated by the neighborhood McDonald's.

The principal is worried that he might lose some of his teachers and his part-time curriculum specialist due to citywide budget cuts. He also could use some Title I funds, but his school just missed being eligible. He believes that his students will do better and better regardless of the politics outside of the building so his teachers and specialist can continue to do their jobs.

Something else that makes kids learn at Waverly is a very efficient senior teacher (curriculum specialist) who has been at Waverly for two years. According to the principal, she is a master scheduler and organizer who takes children out for special teaching, catch-up tutoring or faster paced enrichment. The aim of the curriculum specialist is to know where each teacher is in the curriculum so that teachers have at most 13 students at a time when teaching reading. She shuffles kids in and out of classrooms so that they get maximum amounts of individualized instruction and whole group instruction in reading. The teachers noted that the specialist knows the curriculum backwards and forward for every elementary grade. They also praised her teaching skills for every grade even though she was originally a kindergarten teacher. If the teachers have a problem, she can fix it because she will go anywhere to find solutions. She believes in staff development; so, as she learns something, she teaches the teachers. She and the principal asked the district for special staff development days. They wanted to dismiss school at noon 1-2 days per month. The request was denied. Waverly can only be dismissed at noon when the "Birds" play. The teachers plan together in teams of 2 and 3 within the school day, however.

Waverly's teachers are also the "something" that makes things happen. They have been at Waverly from nine to thirteen years. The Black teachers, except one, attended the local Black university.

The white teachers attended the white university which is paired, by an HEW desegregation plan, with the Black university. The teachers work well together. In fact, during team interviews, one teacher would start a sentence and two others would finish it. As one team described the methods used for instruction, the teachers spontaneously started brainstorming to construct new ideas for a unit they were teaching on the Chesapeake Bay. The math teacher and the science teacher work to have the math fit appropriately into what the children learn in science. The social studies/language arts teacher uses the ideas and skills the children have learned in math and science to teach lessons like the social importance of the ecology of the Bay.

All of the teachers, when asked why they thought Waverly was a good school, mentioned the change which occured when the principal was assigned. One teacher said, "When I first came (9 years ago) I had a first grade and the children did fairly well. One of the problems that I saw then, that we have since corrected (teachers and principal) -- there was a great deal of internal disorganization. Each teacher was very good at what she did but there was no overall reading program. There was no overall math program. Now, (because of principal and specialist) every teacher knows exactly what the children ought to cover by the end of each year."

Another said, "When I first came ... I found that the boys and girls were poor achievers, we changed off to something called "focus" whereby each teacher was teaching one to two of her favorite subjects and working together with a corresponding one or two others to cover the whole curriculum. We found that the achievement of the boys and girls did go way up." Right now the teachers want a single reading series which would go from K-5. The principal says that he doesn't have the money to do it all at once. He believes buying a K-5 series all at once would help the teachers plan a comprehensive attack on reading. He is trying to squeeze enough money out of his budget to buy the series one grade at a time. At this rate, the teachers will have a single reading series in 1986. The teachers at Waverly will be there. All but one teacher, who is getting married, plan to retire at Waverly if they don't get laid off due to budget cuts.

The teachers believe that their students are doing pretty well on the standardized and competency tests because the teachers teach "the techniques of test taking multiple-choice tests --- if you do not know the answers directly, eliminate the answers you know. I teach third grade reading and language arts. With them I emphasize that they understand exactly what the question is asking for. They have to first read the material, then they analyze and find out exactly what they are supposed to do. What is this question asking me. Look for the main idea, whatever. Then they go back to the story to prove what the answer is, then select an answer. After they've done that they go back and check to make sure that what they've got is actually the right answer. They become aware that you just don't read and mark an answer, you really have to go through this test and analyze what it's all about.... The children here are taught from kindergarten how to fill in those circles when taking those tests."

Waverly's teachers make the children know that the tests are important and not to be taken lightly. When asked if the emphasis on taking tests might induce stress in the children which might cause them to score low, the teachers responded that the teacher made tests with the standardized format get the children used to testing. "I think that all the children are aware that testing is common ....from September to spring you are going to take a test. The little children don't know when spring is, but they know that sometime or another something is going to happen around here. I really think that there is a lot of push, not necessarily a lot of excitement. The kids are all psyched up by the time test time comes. We might have a rough couple of weeks [kids acting out] after the test because they know it's over. They have been very cooperative throughout the year though. Even children who have behavior problems know that they are going to have to take that test. They get themselves together so they can do okay."

Last year during the spring, the principal had "Popsicle Day." In the fall, he promised popsicles to all the boys and girls who could get at least 70-80% right on the citywide proficiency test. "There is a lot done in this building to motivate the children. We teachers stress those percentages too. The children know that 70% is passing. We try to let the children see that we are not satisfied with just passing the test. We want to shoot for 100%. When we give test practice I increase the percentage they need to pass. I start by saying 75% correct is needed to pass. Then I creep up to 87% needed to pass. By citywide test time they need 100% to pass my practice test (which has the same format as the proficiency test). They know that this is really serious and that school is serious."

Waverly's parents receive progress letters to let them know how their children are doing. Parents have to sign homework assignments every night. Parents know that every night there is homework. Three years ago the principal decreed that there must be homework at least three nights a week. The teachers upped the ante to five nights per week. "It seems like we are pushing them all the time all year, but these children are relaxed. They know they've covered everything that could possibly come up on the test.

The extensive conversation about testing pointed up several things:

1) The teachers have high expectations for success are constantly pushing the children to work harder and achieve more

2) Reading, analysis and test taking are the focus of instruction

3) The teachers imply sometimes and explicitly teach at other times that school is serious business.

There was only one mention of discipline during a full day of interviews. That was mentioned in passing in reference to testing, "Even children who have behavior problems know that they are going to have to take that test. They get themselves together so they can do okay." The teachers handle discipline themselves. "We let the children know we have high standards for school work and for behavior. That's the first thing we discuss in September, ... the rules for this class and since we team teach when they go next door, the rules are the same. Fighting is completely out. There aren't many rules, but fighting is out. This is helpful because the children can come to school and not be in fear. You just abide by the rules. That is all there is to it. We don't have anyone on this staff who is a free wheeler. We know the rules so the children know them. The administration is cooperative with the teachers. He (the principal) always cooperates. If I send a child down and I don't want him back until I've seen his parent, he doesn't come back. (The principal) knows I've done all I could and I've had it. He cooperates with us. We send children downstairs who aren't prepared for class. The children know that not being prepared for work is just as bad as acting up (misbehaving). It's a matter of cooperation and working together."

At Waverly School, hard work is the norm. Every year the staff is aiming for higher achievement. They let the children know that high achievement is expected and the children try to deliver. The teachers believe that there is no limit to what their kids can achieve. One of the teachers said to her team member, wouldn't it be wild if the fifth graders scored 10.0 in reading next year? The team members chuckled and then laughed. Another said, "Why not?"

There have been some unexpected by-products to the achievement gains at Waverly. A low-SES white neighborhood club invited the principal to a club meeting. (He affectionately called them hillbillies and considers himself one of them.) They requested that he bring his test scores. None of their children go to Waverly. Their kids go to Catholic Schools. He talked to the group and they published the scores in the neighborhood newspaper. At the beginning of school year '80-'81, several of the mothers in this group volunteered and worked at Waverly even though their children attended another school. One of these volunteers set up a system so that the neighborhood center would work on the summer program with Waverly kids. In 1981-82, 114 white children of the club members are enrolling in Waverly. The principal says that inflation is causing these folks to leave the Catholic Schools. He says that 114 children will push Waverly up to 535 children and overcrowding, but he thinks the teachers can handle it.

I got an opportunity to attend Waverly's banquet in honor of the building dedication. The children were clad in suits and ties and frilly dresses. Fourth grade girls had on stockings, little heels, and lipstick. Faces and hands were spotless, legs were greased and hair was twisted, beaded and/or pressed. The banquet was in the cafeteria. Parents and grandparents were there in the middle of the day. Parents and the principal paid for the special meal which consisted of scoops of turkey salad, tuna salad, sweet potatoes, fruited jello on a bed of lettuce and corn. The food was terrible, but the children ate it and felt very adult. There was quiet visiting from table to table by fourth and fifth graders. Every child had on a green button which said Waverly School Dedication, 1981.

Waverly School is a school which is effective for children. The principal is the building leader. The curriculum specialist is the instructional leader. The entire staff has high expectations for its student body. Reading and mathematics are emphasized in a well-rounded curriculum. Student achievement is monitored through teacher made, citywide and standardized tests. The staff and administration pay attention to maintaining an orderly school climate.

The teachers never mentioned the fact that their students were low SES. Nobody blamed parents for anything. Those teachers who mentioned parents mentioned how cooperative they were. The teachers only expect that parents will sign home assignments and summer assignments and get the children to school. (Waverly has had 92.9% attendance in 1977-78, 92.5% attendance in 1978-79, and 93.1% attendance in 1979-80.) Waverly's students are coming from poorer families as the years go on. The principal estimates that about 65% of next year's students will be eligible for free lunch next year, but that doesn't bother anybody on the staff but him. He's worried that federal cuts in the food program will mean hungry children. He's trying to figure out how he can manipulate his own budget to take up the slack. Waverly will make it.

Sarah M. Roach Elementary

Sarah M. Roach is a relatively new building filled with hanging plants in the front hall and office. Situated on the border between a low SES black neighborhood and a low SES white community, Roach receives federal compensatory funds for a high intensity reading program. Two blocks up the street from Roach is a Title I public school attended by blacks. Two blocks further up the street is a Title I Catholic school attended by whites. Roach just missed being Title I eligible. About 61% of Roach's students are eligible for free lunch. The student body is 90% Black. Sarah M. Roach ranked number 1 out of 129 on the citywide proficiency test. A group of white schools in an upper middle class district across town demanded a recount, saying that the results were "statistically impossible." A recount was given. The original results held. Roach #1. The chart below shows Roach's performance on the California Achievement Test and the Iowa Test of Basic Skills. Notice the gains in reading and math at 4th, 5th and 6th grades during school years 1978-79 and '79-'80. Roach has a new principal. She arrived at the beginning of the 1980-81 school year. She believes that her predecessor, now retired, provided leadership, promoted excellence and insisted that teachers teach. Roach has a stable staff. This year, three new teachers were assigned and six experienced teachers requested to be transferred into Roach. None of the teachers requires the assistance of the part-time senior teacher. The substitutes for

SARAH M. ROACH

PERFORMANCE ON STANDARDIZED TESTS, GRADES 2-6
SCHOOL YEARS 1977-78, 1978-79, 1979-80

READING AND MATHEMATICS

GRADE/		AVERAGE GRADE EQUIVALENT			AVERAGE GRADE EQUIVALENT			AVERAGE GRADE EQUIVALENT		
TEST	SKILL AREA	FALL '77	SPR. '78	DIFF.	FALL '78	SPR. '79	DIFF.	FALL '79	SPR. '80	DIFF.
2	Read. Vocab.	1.7	2.7	1.0	1.7	2.6	0.9	1.9	3.2	1.3
CAT	Read. Comprehen.	1.6	2.7	1.1	1.6	2.3	0.7	1.7	3.1	1.4
	READ. TOTAL	1.6	2.6	1.0	1.5	2.4	0.9	1.7	2.9	1.2
	Math Comp.	1.4	2.8	1.4	1.9	2.9	1.0	2.2	3.3	1.1
	Math Appl.	1.6	2.4	0.8	1.6	2.4	0.8	1.8	3.0	1.2
	MATH TOTAL	1.5	2.6	1.1	1.7	2.6	0.9	1.9	3.2	1.3
3	Vocabulary	2.4	5.4	2.0	2.5	4.4	1.9	2.4	4.8	2.4
ITBS	Read. Comprehen.	2.5	3.2	0.7	2.7	3.3	0.6	2.5	4.8	2.3
	Math Concepts	2.8	3.4	0.6	2.7	3.3	0.6	2.7	4.0	1.3
	Math Problems	2.9	3.3	0.4	2.8	3.4	0.6	3.1	4.5	1.4
	MATH TOTAL	2.9	3.4	0.5	2.8	3.4	0.6	2.9	4.3	1.4
4	Read. Vocab.	3.3	4.5	1.2	3.5	5.9	2.4	3.6	4.8	1.2
CAT	Read. Comprehen.	3.2	4.5	1.3	4.3	6.6	2.3	3.4	5.6	2.2
	READ. TOTAL	3.3	4.5	1.2	3.9	6.4	2.5	3.5	5.2	1.7
	Math Comp.	3.8	5.2	1.4	4.1	5.7	1.6	3.8	5.4	1.6
	Math Appl.	3.5	4.7	1.2	3.9	5.8	1.9	3.5	5.2	1.7
	MATH TOTAL	3.6	5.0	1.4	4.0	5.8	1.8	3.7	5.3	1.6
5	Vocabulary	3.7	6.8	3.1	3.8	5.8	2.0	3.6	6.9	3.3
ITBS	Read. Comprehen.	4.0	5.4	1.4	4.1	5.0	0.9	3.8	5.6	1.8
	Math Concepts	4.5	5.4	0.9	4.3	5.4	1.1	4.6	6.4	1.8
	Math Problems	4.2	5.3	1.1	4.4	5.2	0.8	4.6	6.1	1.5
	MATH TOTAL	4.3	5.4	1.1	4.4	5.4	1.0	4.6	6.3	1.7
6	Read. Vocab.	4.4	8.3	3.9	4.6	9.0	4.4	5.6	7.6	2.0
CAT	Read. Comprehen.	4.7	6.9	2.2	4.9	7.4	2.5	5.7	7.5	1.8
	READ. TOTAL	4.5	7.4	2.9	4.7	7.9	3.2	5.6	7.5	1.9
	Math Comp.	6.6	7.8	1.2	5.9	8.2	2.3	6.3	7.8	1.5
	Math Appl.	7.1	6.4	-0.7	5.0	7.7	2.7	5.5	6.9	1.4
	MATH TOTAL	6.8	7.1	0.3	5.5	7.9	2.4	6.0	7.3	1.3

this building are retired teachers who were recruited by the old principal.

The entire staff arrives between 7:00-7:30 A.M. School officially opens at 8:15. The teachers have an excellent attendance record. If someone is out, she is actually very sick. From 8:30-11:00 A.M. every teacher teaches language arts and reading. This includes at least 1 hour with a basal reader, then handwriting, spelling, and dictation. Every day includes at least 15 minutes of test awareness and 15 minutes of study and comprehension skills. Sometimes teachers devote 45 minutes to study and comprehension skills.

The principal believes that the old principal trained the teachers well. They know what they're supposed to do and they do it. The new principal lets the teachers continue to plan the instructional program started by the old principal. Every Wednesday is staff development day. The teachers tutor before and after school. They use lots of supplementary materials. The teachers are "superior" according to the principal. They cooperate and plan together, but they are also highly competitive. The teachers check on each other to see whose class is ahead throughout the year.

The principal feels that her most important job is working directly with the children. She tutors them in mathematics and "social living." Social living includes things such as entering the building quietly, taking off hats when entering the building and proper conduct on the playground. Students may talk in the cafeteria, but they are not allowed to run around or "table hop." Fifth and sixth graders monitor and help with the younger students. An aide and a rotating team of students are responsible for cleaning up the cafeteria. All fifth and sixth graders are responsible for maintaining discipline in the cafeteria. This gives the teachers a duty-free lunch period. The children are not allowed to go outside after lunch. That would upset them and they wouldn't be able to settle down and get back to work in the afternoon. "This business of time-on-task is important. Our kids get physical education, but there is none of this running around and playing. We've got too much work to do in here."

The principal is a firm disciplinarian. Children who fight know they will be sent home until a parent re-instates them. The student body is predominantly male and likes to roll around on the carpet. There are several 13 and 14 year old boys in the school. When teachers send a child to the office, "I know that the child really needs to go home." The principal's parents are very cooperative. Some of the parents were formerly her students in kindergarten. They know she means business and they spread the word to the other parents. "My parents know that if a child gets sent home from this school, the child really "messed" up as far as I'm concerned. They always spank or put the child on punishment because they know for themselves from being in my class that "I don't take no junk and I don't give none."

The principal has a bottle of RITALIN (speed) on her desk.* When asked about it, the principal explained that she distributes the pills to hyper-active boys. A nurse comes in once per week to keep track of the dosages and review the principal's records.

The principal organized a safety patrol of children who are improving in their school work and who behave "appropriately". She took the most improved scholars to a luncheon at McDonald's. She requires that every child in every classroom, K-6 own and maintain an orderly notebook. She personally checked every one of them this year (356!). The three best notebooks were awarded prize packages which included pencils for the kindergartener, and erasers, small games, riddle books and lollipop pins for the older children.

She started a peer tutoring program. Third graders tutor kindergarten children. Sixth graders tutor first and second grade classrooms. She believes that these tutors get an opportunity to practice basic skills while helping the younger kids. The principal credits the senior teacher with helping the teacher to maintain and improve their skills.

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* See Jane Jackson, "The coerced Use of Ritalin for Behavior Control in Public Schools: Legal Challenges", Clearinghouse Review, July 1976

See also Nancy Rhoden, "The Right to Refuse Psychotropic Drugs", Harvard Civil Rights-Civil Liberties Law Review Vol. 15, 1980.

See Axelrod and Bailey, "Drug Treatment for Hyperactivity: Controversies, Alternatives, and Guidelines", in Exceptional Children, April, 1979.

The senior teacher works in the public Title I school two blocks up the street and in the Roach. She negotiated with the principal of the Title I school so that she works four days at Roach instead of the scheduled 2-1/2 days. "Roach was number four in the competency test citywide last year. This year we're number one." She then contrasted Roach with the school up the street, "That school is chaotic. The teachers don't even turn the lights on in the classroom. The school up the street has a new principal every two years. It has a high percentage of probationary teachers. The teachers are involuntarily transferred in because something happens at another school and they're forced out. It's an entirely different situation than here."

The senior teacher believes that Roach is a "working" school because the staff does not require her constant assistance. There is no staff turnover. The grades are overlapping (1st grade class, combination 1st-2nd, 2nd grade, 3rd grade, combination 3rd-4th, 5th grade, combination 5th and 6th). The school works because four years ago, the scores were so low that the school became a target school. However, as Roach's scores rise, it gets fewer and fewer services. The reading teacher is being taken away this year. "Why should they be taking away things which were necessary to make the school effective," she said. "I know there are budget constraints, but there must be something that they can take away before they get to this school."

"This school is effective because the old principal decided to get it together. The teachers still remember what she taught them. The new principal continues the tone set by the old principal. The old principal was here for seven years and she told everybody that this school had to be bright and cheerful and pretty."

As a by-product of improving scores and inflation, Roach is getting 60 white students from the Catholic school. The senior teacher is insulted because the white parents kept "snooping" around before Roach got this "influx." Roach has always been better than the Catholic school, she believes. She knows that the white parents are less reluctant to send their kids to Roach because the test scores are improving.

Roach works, according to its staff, because Roach's staff works hard. Period.

Roland Park School

Roland Park School, a K-9 school, is an anomaly. It is situated in the wealthiest white neighborhood in Baltimore City. About 52% of Roland Park's student body are eligible for free lunch. The lower school, K-6, is 50% Black. The upper school, grades 7-9, is 77% Black today, down from 87% Black in 1977-78. Next year, the upper school will be even less Black and more overcrowded. The building capacity is 864 students. In 1980-81, Roland Park had an enrollment of 1,011. The school, a citywide magnet school, has a waiting list for every grade. Influential white parents who live in the neighborhood use their pull with the Mayor and City Council to jump line for their kids. (They also used their considerable pull to overturn the Superintendent of Baltimore Public School's decision to lay off eleven of Roland Park's teachers.)

The principal at Roland Park, a Black female, came into a school marked by chaos in 1976. Students fought and threw furniture around. The school had been a walk-in school for its wealthy neighborhood. There were 35 Black students when she arrived. The principal knew that she would be making major improvements in the school so she requested that the school be made a magnet school and then actively recruited Black students. Black lower school students are driven in from across the city by parents. Black upper school students come by public transportation. White youngsters walk to school from the surrounding neighborhood.

Roland Park is surrounded by 7 prep schools, one of which was mentioned in the Preppy Handbook. Traditionally neighborhood children have gone through grade 6 and then transferred to one of the predominantly white prep schools. The principal constantly checks with the prep schools to compare scores and to check on her former students. Roland Park students are always in the top three slots at each one of the schools. Last year, Roland Park had its first Exeter Academy enrollee. This year another Roland Park graduate was accepted at Exeter. Roland Park's achievement scores from grades 4-9 are in the charts following. Notice the 1979-80 scores in reading mathematics for grades 4,5,6. Notice the 1979-80 scores for grades 7,8,9. Ninth grade scores for 1979-80 were relatively low, but this year's ninth graders were the eighth graders who scored 10.3 in total reading and 10.3 in total mathematics at the end of 1979-80. The principal believes that the scores will be going up.

Roland Park, has an advanced academic program. Beginning in kindergarten, students study Russian, French, Spanish, German or Italian. Talented fifth to ninth graders take Latin or Greek in addition to their modern language. The method of instruction is total immersion in oral and written language, composition, literature, culture and history. Upper school language teachers teach all students from K-9. The principal says that there have been no union problems in this regard because the language teachers decided to do this on their own. The teachers believe that starting with 5 year olds will make their jobs much easier when these kids get to the upper school.

School No. and Name 233, Roland Park

PERFORMANCE ON STANDARDIZED TESTS, GRADES 2-6
SCHOOL YEARS 1977-78, 1978-79, 1979-80

READING AND MATHEMATICS

GRADE/ TEST	SKILL AREA	AVERAGE GRADE EQUIVALENT			AVERAGE GRADE EQUIVALENT			AVERAGE GRADE EQUIVALENT		
		FALL '77	SPR. '78	DIFF.	FALL '78	SPR. '79	DIFF.	FALL '79	SPR. '80	DIFF.
2 CAT	Read. Vocab.	2.3	3.4	1.1	2.2	2.7	0.5	2.6	3.2	0.6
	Read. Comprehen.	2.3	3.7	1.4	1.9	2.9	1.0	2.6	3.1	0.5
	READ TOTAL	2.2	3.6	1.4	2.1	3.0	0.9	2.3	3.2	0.9
	Math Comp.	2.3	3.4	1.1	2.3	3.2	0.9	2.4	3.4	1.0
	Math Appl.	2.0	3.5	1.5	2.5	3.1	0.6	2.5	3.2	0.7
	MATH TOTAL	2.2	3.5	1.3	2.3	3.2	0.9	2.4	3.3	0.9
3 ITBS	Vocab.	3.4	3.8	0.4	3.5	4.1	0.6	3.5	4.3	0.8
	Read. Comprehen.	3.4	3.9	0.5	3.7	4.3	0.6	3.6	4.5	0.9
	Math Concepts	3.3	3.9	0.6	3.5	4.0	0.5	3.6	4.3	0.7
	Math Problems	3.4	3.8	0.4	3.6	4.2	0.6	3.8	4.6	0.8
	MATH TOTAL	3.4	3.9	0.5	3.6	4.1	0.5	3.7	4.5	0.8
4 CAT	Read. Vocab.	5.4	5.8	0.4	4.4	5.6	1.2	5.4	6.0	0.6
	Read. Comprehen.	5.0	6.4	1.4	5.2	6.0	0.8	5.4	6.5	1.1
	READ. TOTAL	5.2	6.1	0.9	4.8	5.8	1.0	5.5	6.4	0.9
	Math Comp.	4.9	5.9	1.0	4.4	5.5	1.1	4.8	5.8	1.0
	Math Appl.	4.6	5.7	1.1	4.6	5.3	0.7	4.9	5.7	0.8
	MATH TOTAL	4.8	5.8	1.0	4.5	5.4	0.9	4.8	5.8	1.0
5 ITBS	Vocab.	5.9	6.3	0.4	5.8	6.5	0.7	5.3	6.2	0.9
	Read. Comprehen.	5.9	6.2	0.3	5.8	6.3	0.5	5.4	6.1	0.7
	Math Concepts	5.2	6.1	0.9	6.0	6.9	0.9	5.5	6.2	0.7
	Math Problems	5.7	6.1	0.4	6.0	6.3	0.3	5.3	5.9	0.6
	MATH TOTAL	5.5	6.1	0.6	6.0	6.6	0.6	5.4	6.1	0.7
6 CAT	Read. Vocab.	7.0	8.0	1.0	7.7	9.0	1.3	8.3	9.6	1.3
	Read. Comprehen.	7.1	8.6	1.5	8.4	9.5	1.1	8.4	9.7	1.3
	READ. TOTAL	7.0	8.3	1.3	8.0	9.3	1.3	8.4	9.7	1.3
	Math Comp.	6.2	8.1	1.9	7.0	8.9	1.9	8.0	10.2	2.2
	Math Appl.	6.4	7.9	1.5	7.2	8.3	1.1	7.9	9.3	1.4
	MATH TOTAL	6.3	8.0	1.7	7.1	8.5	1.4	7.8	9.7	0.8

School No. and Name #233, Roland Park

PERFORMANCE ON STANDARDIZED TESTS, GRADES 6-9
SCHOOL YEARS 1977-78, 1978-79, 1979-80

READING AND MATHEMATICS

GRADE/ TEST	SKILL AREA	AVERAGE GRADE EQUIVALENT FALL '77	SPR. '78	DIFF.	AVERAGE GRADE EQUIVALENT FALL '78	SPR. '79	DIFF.	AVERAGE GRADE EQUIVALENT FALL '79	SPR. '80	DIFF.
6 CAT	Read. Vocab.	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
	Read. Comprehen.	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
	READ. TOTAL	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
	Math. Comp.	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
	Math. Appl.	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
	MATH. TOTAL	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
7 ITBS	Vocab.	4.9	6.2	1.3	6.7	7.6	0.9	7.0	8.0	1.0
	Read. Comprehen.	5.3	5.7	0.4	7.0	7.3	0.3	7.1	8.3	1.2
	Math. Concepts	5.3	6.1	0.8	7.0	7.7	0.7	7.2	8.2	1.0
	Math. Problems	5.5	5.9	0.4	7.1	7.3	0.2	7.4	8.1	0.7
	MATH. TOTAL	5.4	6.1	0.7	7.1	7.5	0.4	7.3	8.2	0.9
8 CAT	Read. Vocab.	6.3	6.9	0.6	6.8	7.2	0.4	9.0	9.9	0.9
	Read. Comprehen.	6.6	7.3	0.7	7.3	8.1	0.8	9.5	10.6	1.1
	READ. TOTAL	6.5	7.1	0.6	7.1	7.7	0.6	9.2	10.3	1.1
	Math. Comp.	6.9	7.7	0.8	7.0	8.2	1.2	9.4	10.6	1.2
	Math. Appl.	6.3	7.1	0.8	7.2	7.7	0.5	9.0	10.1	1.1
	MATH. TOTAL	6.6	7.4	0.8	7.0	7.8	0.8	9.2	10.3	1.1
9 CAT	Read. Vocab.	6.8	7.2	0.4	6.9	7.2	0.3	7.1	7.9	0.8
	Read. Comprehen.	7.4	8.1	0.7	7.9	8.2	0.3	7.6	8.7	1.1
	READ. TOTAL	7.1	7.7	0.6	7.4	7.8	0.4	7.4	8.3	0.9
	Math. Comp.	7.7	8.1	0.4	8.1	8.4	0.3	8.2	9.1	0.9
	Math. Appl.	7.4	7.8	0.4	7.5	7.9	0.4	7.9	8.2	0.3
	MATH. TOTAL	7.5	7.8	0.3	7.7	8.1	0.4	7.9	8.6	0.7

The principal started from scratch five years ago with a relatively new staff. She trained them. Not only are there no student discipline problems, the staff is also in order. As the principal and I walked along the corridor, a teacher quickly explained why he was in the halls and not in his classroom. Another teacher, when asked, "How's it going?" quickly responded, "We're all fine, everybody's happy." On the chalkboard in the office, the principal had written to teachers, "Of course, we always save the best for last. I expect lessons of that caliber every day until June 17, 1981 (the last day of school)". Parents and teachers collaborated to set up an enrichment program which runs from 2-6 P.M. Neighborhood mothers work in the school daily. This year the Parent Association has its first Black chair.

The parents who are wealthy try to use their influence to get things from the city for the school. Parents who are not wealthy write lots and lots of letters to get things for the school. The combination of influence and an outpouring of letters helped overrule the superintendent on a number of occasions. Roland Park has an image problem, however. The building is run down with fewer than normal resources because central administration, politicians and school people in other parts of the city believe that the school population is still wealthy and white. Paint is peeling and fixtures are worn out. Every square inch of space is being used. Small group tutorials are held in the teachers' lounge. The building was built in 1925 and added to in 1972, but it's still bursting at the seams. The school has about 200 too many kids for capacity. Overcrowded or not, the building is orderly by order of the principal.

There is a code of conduct and a dress code. During the summer months, students must wear at least bermuda length shorts with knee socks. Every female student at and beyond puberty must wear a bra. When the principal first started recruiting black students, she told all the students that there would be no interracial conflict. There was none. Not only is fighting not permitted, students who report to school unprepared to work are sent home. Because of the academic competition among students, being sent home for being unprepared is one of the most embarrassing things that can happen. Parents must come to school to re-admit students who have been sent home for being unprepared. The principal thinks that her parents are very supportive.

She works hard to encourage the poor parents to come into the school to see what was going on. She particularly tries to encourage black fathers to come into the school and participate in the Parents Association. She is pleased with their response. One of the fathers who is a steelworker takes the day off once a month in order to come to school to see what's going on. Parents and teachers at Roland Park expect that their children will achieve excellence.

Roland Park is an effective school for children because it has a history of achievement that the principal will not let die.

The staff is expected to strive for excellence no matter what color the children are. The staff works hard because it appreciates the fact that the principal always fights for their jobs when lay-off time comes. She tries to provide them with all the resources possible, given the unequal distribution of resources to Roland Park. The teachers believe that all the students are high achievers; consequently, they are. Even though the pupil/teacher ratio is almost 31:1, the teachers interviewed felt that the achievement scores would go higher and higher. One teacher said, "Our morale is so high because our kids are so good that we could probably raise achievement if the ratio were 40:1." We hope that the school continues to thrive.

A School in New York City

There is at least one school in Oceanhill-Brownsville which is in transition to effectiveness for its 950 black and hispanic students. The principal, staff and the central administrator assigned to the school realize that they are on their way. Two years ago, only 16% of the school population was at grade level in reading. In 1979-80, 28% of the students were at grade level in reading. In 1980-81, about 44% of the students were at grade level. The principal predicts that about 50-60% of his students will be at grade level at the end of the 1981-82 school year.

The improvement in reading efficiency has not been due to transfer of staff or improvement in social conditions. The contingent of adults in the building has been relatively stable over the years. The principal has been there for seven years. The staff has been in place from eight to eleven years. The community has gotten poorer and more depressed over the years.

Lingering bitterness remains from the harshest school war in schooling history (1968-69). (For a description of the NYC school wars, see Ravitch, The Great School Wars and Zimet, Decentralization and School Effectiveness.) The neighborhood still looks like Berlin after the war and the elevated train has been called "the muggers' express". What has caused the rise in achievement at this school over the past two years?

The teachers say that this has always been a "good" school with a strong staff. (I don't exactly know the basis for this characterization since only about 16% of the students were at grade level.) The most apparent reasons for the turn around in achievement has been the conscious focus on making the school personify Edmonds' five characteristics of school effectiveness (five factors) and the assignment of a central administrator, who happened to have a Ph.D. in reading, to this school.

The principal, grade leader teachers and some community members have sat down to do comprehensive planning in order to devise means for making the five factors implementable. This planning is funded by 110 Livingston Street (New York City School Headquarters) which assigned a staff person to assist with planning and implementation. The school has been provided extra resources to partially aid in implementation of the building plan. The most important purchase with the extra money has been a basal reading series which is used from kindergarten to grade six.

The principal is becoming the instructional leader. He has been taught to manage the reading program. He sits down with individual teachers at three-month intervals to review classroom progress during the previous three months. He then sets achievement goals for the coming three-month period. If teachers are behind the achievement target, he wants to know why. The central administrator then works with these off-target teachers to help them back on the track. The principal never accepts the excuse that there is something in the children that impedes the achievement process. He does not allow direct teaching with any materials or books that are more than one (1) year below grade level. He does allow remedial materials to be 1.5 years below grade level, however. The principal has constructed a daily schedule for instruction which teachers must follow. About two hours a day are spent in reading and language arts instruction.

The principal works hard to provide extra resources for the children and teachers. The school has a well-stocked aquarium which has various sea animals. He has obtained a well-stocked art room and well-equipped room for exercise, dance and physical education because the school has no gymnasium. The principal tries to encourage parent participation.

The principal has assigned an aide to work in the parent room. This is a meeting room for neighborhood mothers, mostly on welfare. We saw about 30 parents in and out of this room during the school day. There were no restaurants or services in the neighborhood so the staff has set up a morning coffee hour, an exercise and weight reduction class and a new mothers class. These mothers hold raffles to get money for school equipment and accompany classes on trips. On this particular day, the mothers were drawing up charts which teachers would use to plot achievement data. A child was sent down to the parent room for discipline. It was unclear if this child's mother was there, but he was talked to by somebody's mother and sent back to the classroom. The principal dropped by and was immediately doted upon by the mothers who reminded him that he evidently was not sticking to his diet.

The parents can go into classrooms at any time, according to the eighteen-year-old president of the parents association. I saw no parent use this option. They appear satisfied to let the teachers go about their work. The principal and teachers are dissatisfied with the low level of parent involvement. I had no idea why. The parents seem satisfied with the school climate. It was difficult to assess whether they understood the achievement goals, although some of them were involved in drawing up the building plan. They are clearly pleased by the efforts of the principal. The school is working to provide service for the parents.

The principal admits he has worked hard to change his blunt, authoritarian style of management into a more democratic and delegative one. He allows the teachers to be creative and he takes their suggestions. They know that he is the ultimate decision-maker. It is his responsibility. He delegates authority to capable teachers and tries to use their considerable extra-curricular skills to enrich the experiences of the students. For example, one teacher who is a concert violinist has been given release time to teach violin classes two periods per week. Another teacher who is a professional actor teaches these skills and manages the assembly programs. Another teacher, who has lost 35 pounds, leads the weight-watchers and exercise program for parents.

It has not been the extra-curricular effort or parent involvement which has led to the achievement incline, although these things add a richness and texture to the school climate. The focus on basic skills in reading and mathematics has led to the improvement. The principal and teachers have a target which is being reached.

The principal's ultimate goal is to raise the school's achievement rank in the list of approximately 640 elementary schools. In one year the principal moved up thirty places. The next year he moved up 78 more places. His sense of competition makes him want to drive teachers and students to higher achievement. In the last two years he has learned that the way to do this is by defining and focusing the attention of teachers and students on basic skills. He realizes that the concentrated focus on reading achievement will push him up on the list of schools. He projects that he will reach a spot at the top half of the list of schools next school year. This means that he will have to move up about 50 more places. He is also working with the principal of the junior high school that his students will attend. He wants to keep his students on the road to continued achievement.

The teachers have comparable goals on the building level. One teacher recited, "Thirty-one (31) of my thirty-three (33) children are reading at and above grade level. Those two kids just missed by a couple of questions." The teachers now know what the goal is and what is expected of them. The coordinated reading program using one book throughout all the building has helped the teachers plan the program. The assistant principal, a specialist in curriculum, draws up chapter tests or work sheets for the teachers.

She knows where the teachers are in the instructional program and responds to their specific requests. The central administrator trains the teachers to use the reading program and most importantly interprets test results for them. He lets them know how many of their students are at grade level and what questions and skills the remaining children need to work on in order to reach grade level in reading.

The teachers in the building have been there for 10-19 years. They have always had a happy building and they get along well together. For the first time, however, these teachers have a specific, well-defined target to achieve in a well-defined time frame -- one school year. The teachers look to the strongest teachers for guidance and they now can determine rather than intuit "strong" by comparing the ratio of kids not at grade level to total class enrollment. The point is this: here we have a school with caring teachers and a strong principal. However, most of the kids at this school, who seemed relatively happy, were not reading at grade level. The rise in test scores is a recent phenomena. This was not the case where malevolent adults consciously sought to miseducate poor and hispanic kids over the last twenty years. On the contrary, the teachers "taught" and the principals "administered." Rather, this is a case where well-meaning adults did not or could not coordinate their efforts to provide maximum service.

There are reasons that this coordination did not occur. Teachers are rarely given time within the working day to plan together so that all the first grade teachers know what they are doing. The second grade teachers rarely know exactly what the first grade teachers are doing. This lack of coordination between teachers is comparable to having 15 dressmakers working to build one dress using 5 different sized patterns. Of course, the dress would have all its parts but the armhole would be too small for the sleeve to fit in smoothly. The waistband, while perfectly sewn, would be too large to fit the small skirt. The lack of coordination of the various parts of the instructional process leads to fourth grade teachers saying, "When they left me they could read!" or seventh grade teachers saying, "I can't teach them English because they never learned to read in sixth grade."

The school in Oceanhill-Brownsville pays close attention to the five factors of effectiveness. The principal is becoming the building leader and instructional coordinator. The staff focuses its attention on teaching basic skills in reading. The principal and central administrator constantly monitor and evaluate student progress. The school climate which has been relatively good has been improved as a result of efforts to involve parents during the school day. Teacher expectations for student achievement have risen as teachers gain more professional skill and achievement rises.

In this instance, the conscious attempt to plan ways to implement the characteristics of effectiveness have been the cause of effectiveness. The school had some things already in place -- a stable staff, a principal who led, parents who were encouraged to come into the building and teachers with creative, extra-curricular talents. What all these people needed was a guiding focus. The outsider who has reading instruction skills and a program for planning provided a catalyst. The efforts of the principal and staff of the school in Oceanhill-Brownsville may be replicable in other schools in the neighborhood. The acclaim that this school is getting may alert other schools that kids in Oceanhill-Brownsville can be taught.

4. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary and Conclusions

There is nothing really astonishing about the effective schools except that they are "normal," or what common sense says ought to be normal in the schools we support with our tax dollars. These schools are "ordinary" schools. That is, if we put them into a cluster of all the schools in the nation, these schools would not be exceptional in achievement. They would be average. Effective urban schools are considered exceptional schools because urban schools serving poor black children are not "average." Effective schools are only exceptional when compared with other urban schools. We would like to see effective schools be the average urban school. What we can say at this time about effective schools for poor black children is this: all the components are in place for these schools to become exceptional in any clustering of schools. They need to be monitored and supported.

Effective schools have not yet worked out all the problems of schooling and they probably won't. For example, from our readings and observations, these schools with the exception of those observed in Richmond, have no catch-up provisions for students. While below-grade students are not permitted to fall further behind, there are no special attempts made to make these children at grade level. Effective schools appear to be planning for future students who will read and compute at grade level.

It seems as if the adults are planning to get it right the first time for every student at some date in the future. In this sense, there will be a lost generation of students who will not benefit from current school improvement. However, for the first time in a long while, there is a growing body of educators who believe that urban schools show promise. These adults seem to believe that what they do for and with poor children is a greater determinant of achievement than the family background of these learners.

The effective schools have not solved any of the problems of urban society. In fact, they focus on solving none of these problems. Effective schools appear to be task-oriented rather than human relations oriented. Somehow, when the adults in these schools set out to accomplish well-defined and articulated goals, the human relations problems apparently fall into place.

The existence of these schools should have an impact on the strategies used by advocates for the poor. First, advocates and the poor can begin to de-emphasize the myth that schooling can be all things to all people, for one characteristic of effective schools is their singular focus on providing basic skills and knowledge. Effective schools make no attempt to solve community problems, indict poor parents as encouragers of pathology or "fix" the children who come to the school. This singular focus means that poor parents can trust the schools.

Of course, even effective schools should be monitored to insure continued dedication to the primary focus. Second, the deemphasis of the myth that schooling leads to anything other than preparation for more schooling, of various types, can have neat and tidy by-products for poor people and their advocates. While ineffective schools have provided poor people with practice in confronting bureaucracies and lobbying for impact legislation, effective schools can allow a transference of the energy and skills gained in school battles to the political process where real change and impact occur. Poor people and their advocates can move directly to politics, economics, jobs and housing.

What do effective schools do that is different? Effective schools use what they have more efficiently -- personnel, parents, students, space and discretionary funds. Since running an effective school costs about the same as running an ineffective school, what the effective schools do is not based on having more money.

None of the schools we observed had an extra amount of resources not available to similar schools. Three of the twelve schools we observed had fewer resources because they were not Title I eligible. What all these schools had were principals who were rogues and had relationships with people in school warehouses or principals who were good savers, who catalogued and kept track of what they were allocated over the years or principals who were good at filling out forms and keeping track of whose central administration desk the forms were on at any given moment or principals who stayed on the phone until what the teachers wanted was provided. All of these principals massaged the discretionary funds in their budgets so that instructional materials took precedence over most other expenditures.

The transition to effectiveness takes years before sustained maintenance of gains can be observed. At this stage, effectiveness may be a tenuous process which may be upset by reduction in teaching force, increases in class size or too hastily withdrawn federal, state and local compensatory resources or promotion of effective leaders out of school buildings and into central administration. Effectiveness, when reached, must be nurtured and supported until the school is certain of its footing. In the schools we observed, as achievement rises, extra resources are withdrawn. Leaving resources in place until achievement shows signs of stability is necessary. The efficient use of resources, while easily done by talented people, can be taught to people who are not talented.

Effective schools seem to have explicit, clearly-stated goals and objectives. First, the principals and staff in effective schools actually said to each other that they wanted to raise achievement. They did not sit down together and say, "We need to improve discipline or suspend more students." This discussion may have come later but it did not come first. These schools invested a great deal of time and effort in staff development and expected that higher achievement would follow.

Once the goals are clear, it seems as if joint planning by staff and principals is the next important procedure. Effective principals shared planning and decision making with teachers. Often, teachers within these schools have the opportunity to plan together during the school day. Planning is important. Planning and planning to plan are skills which can be taught to the adults in ineffective schools.

In the schools we observed, scheduling of activities became a very important factor in goal implementation and planning. Scheduling gave teachers time within the school day to work together. Scheduling gave the instructional leader an opportunity to conduct in-service and on-the-job training. Some one person in each building was responsible for seeing that the principal and staff's priorities happen. The scheduler was sometimes a principal, sometimes a curriculum specialist or assistant principal or classroom teacher. The schedulers made possible such things as junior high language teachers working with kindergarten classes, classroom teachers teaching reading to at most 13 children, violin lessons taught twice a week by a classroom teacher, small group and individual remedial instruction by off-duty classroom teachers who volunteer, joint curriculum planning by teachers within the school day, efficient use of librarians, aides, other adults and team teaching. Scheduling might seem like a trivial point, but it played a large role in increasing the quality of service delivered in the effective schools we observed.

Scheduling, the master scheduler or the importance of scheduling was mentioned by teachers and principals. In one school, efficient scheduling was one of the stated objectives in the written plan for the school year. In one system, 3 high school principals plan scheduling together so that students have 3 times as many academic courses from which to choose. In one junior high school, students are given small group instruction within the day by a rotating team of off-duty classroom teachers. In the elementary schools we observed, scheduling helped establish and maintain an orderly climate because academic time and play time was planned and respected. Each of these effective schools happened to have a talented scheduler on staff. Since scheduling seems to be important, it should not depend upon the accidental occurrence of efficient schedulers in some schools. Possibly, central offices should provide assistance which would help individual schools accomplish their own goals and objectives. Efficient scheduling is something which schools can do which would not add extra costs.

On-the-job and in-service training at these schools helps teachers perform at their jobs. Successful schools provide constant technical training to teachers. The teacher trainer, on site is usually more effective than outside consultants who come in periodically. Outside consultants may not understand what a particular staff needs, or individual strengths and weaknesses of the student body. The on-site teacher-trainer is aware that teachers have a specific need for minute, detailed techniques which solve the next day's problems. The on-site trainer can transfer the results of research directly into the classroom. This person is in the best position to make change happen within classrooms.

Effective schools devote a substantial portion of their time to in-service training for teachers. On-site curriculum specialists, department chairs or grade level leaders spend time training teachers in specific teaching techniques, use of specific equipment or implementation of new instructional programs. Sometimes the within-building teacher-trainers are formally assigned by the central office. Sometimes the principal arranges the schedule of strong teachers or grade level leaders so that they have a small amount of time within the school day to float around to assist other teachers. The informal arrangements, depending on the relationship between staff and principal, are implemented with the blessing of the building's union representative.

Principals in these schools spend a portion of their time training new faculty members or re-training faculty members who do not live up to the principal's performance standards and goals. This conclusion is consistent with the observations of

Benjamin, 1980; Salganick, 1980, Phi Delta Kappa, 1980. Principals whose strong suit is not instructional supervision or curriculum spend a portion of their time procuring the assistance of central office specialists and supervisors. Many of the principals we interviewed expressed their reluctance to fire or transfer teachers performing below-par. Their reluctance is caused by the amount of time and paperwork involved in firings. Principals noted that the administrivia required for firings would take away time from the instructional program.

Most teachers, the principals believed, appreciate the principal's efforts to give individual aid when it is clear that the principal is working to help rather than gather evidence for firing. The informal efforts to improve teacher performance require a level of trust which develops over time. Often teachers who believe that their performance is not improving, voluntarily transfer.

Some principals indicated that peer pressure helps to keep teachers working productively. Once a positive work climate is established, uncooperative teachers are ostracized by more productive peers. Principals form an alliance with the most respected teacher in order to establish a positive teaching climate. These principals also tried to shield effective teachers' unreasonable demands from central offices, lay-offs and irate parents when necessary. The principal's willingness to "go to bat" for good teachers was mentioned again and again by staff we interviewed. Support by the principals encouraged staff to be effective and instilled willingness to trust the principal.

All of these principals, leaders even though their styles differed, had an ability to interact positively with people. None of the principals appeared to have exceptional personalities; in fact, some were extremely dull, some were brusque, some were so soft-spoken that they were spooky, some were extremely reserved and formal, but all had an ability to move people in the appropriate direction. Leadership in these instances involved an ability to relate to people. The National Association of Secondary School Principals (1978) concludes that the principalship can be made more effective if a requirement for promotion to the position involved an evaluation of the candidate's ability to get along with students, parents and teachers. The principal is clearly a leader, but in our observations, charisma played no part in this leadership.

Schools are frequently started on the road to effectiveness by the entrance of a new instructional leader. This instructional leader is sometimes a new principal or a new curriculum specialist. In the schools we observed, when the principal was not the instructional leader, he/she was the "distributive" leader. The principal distributes responsibility for various aspects of goal accomplishment to strong staff members who can provide curriculum/instructional leadership. In these instances, the principal acts as a facilitator so the work gets done. The distributive leader has the ability to delegate authority. For ineffective principals, a key part of in-service training may be lessons in how to delegate and distribute authority. Again, training may play a key role in the transfer of techniques from effective schools to ineffective schools. Transferring trained staff into ineffective schools may play a key role in the transfer of techniques from effective schools to ineffective schools. Transferring trained staff into ineffective schools may begin the process for change.

In the schools we observed and in many of the case studies in the literature, a trained "outsider" initiated the transition to effectiveness. That "outsider" was a new person, a principal or superintendent or central administrator or curriculum specialist who came into the building (or system) with fresh ideas or a fresh way of focusing the attention of staff on achievement. These "new" people often came with goals or a predilection for planning and coordination of available resources.

The effective elementary schools we observed use through-the-grade reading and mathematics programs. They start with one program in kindergarten or first grade and continue with the same program until the highest grade. This approach was mentioned as important by teachers. They believe it assures continuity for students and makes a difference in achievement.

The schools we observed have standards for discipline which are fairly applied by the principal and are consistent from classroom to classroom. The schools we saw were quiet when appropriate and noisy when appropriate. This may be tied to the scheduled periods when the whole school is reading or having art and music, but it may be tied to the staff expectation that there will be order. The teachers in effective schools we interviewed talked mostly about instruction and learning and rarely about discipline or inappropriate student behavior. Classroom discipline did not appear to be a concern of these teachers. Teachers in effective schools do not appear to share the society's views about poor children. None of the teachers we interviewed expressed anything other than positive views about the children they taught.

Teachers in effective schools transmit the expectation that every child will learn. The teachers we observed did not treat the children with kid gloves; but they were not cruel. They told the children when the answer was: excellent, good, below par, needed improvement or wrong. None of the teachers we observed gave effusive praise for terrible work in order to spare the children's feelings. They uniformly corrected errors while encouraging the children to improve. They also taught the children how to do the work more efficiently. They clearly told children that the next effort would be better. If the teacher said the work was good, the children knew that the work was good. Evidently, children's egos are not as fragile as most of us fear. Children, like adults, need to be told how to do their work efficiently if they are able to deliver good results.

The teachers we observed were supportive when helping children. Children were never ridiculed nor taken lightly. Students in these classrooms took their cues from the teacher and were supportive of each other. In a second grade classroom, when one little girl was stuck at the blackboard trying to come up with an answer, another little girl said, "She's just shy." Other children nodded at the comment or said, "Yeah." Why the children thought this was the problem rather than, "She's dumb!" is important. The climate established by the teacher encouraged support and cooperation, not ridicule. The effective schools we observed had no dumb kids; only kids who had to be given more time to learn.

Effective schools have more than their share of talented people, but mere talent is not the thing which makes the difference. The difference appears to come from efficient coordination of resources, planning, goal setting and support by the building administrator. Many urban schools probably have talented staff but until the adults in a school sit down to plan long and short range goals, talents go unrecognized and under-utilized.

The things which separate effective schools from ineffective schools can be taught. Principals and teachers can be taught to plan. Principals and teachers can be taught to manage budgets and schedule. Teachers can be taught to teach reading and mathematics. Teachers can be taught to control classes. Teachers can be taught to develop curriculum. All of the technology for teaching principals and teachers already exists. Models for teaching teachers all of the things mentioned above, exist. The Teacher Corps has been training new teachers and old teachers since 1967. Several models for training principals were developed in the early seventies at the Education Development Center and Harvard. The Joint Dissemination Review Panel of the Department of Education selects exemplary academic programs and provides a method for school practitioners to contact each other about implementing these programs. Principals can be taught to be leaders, "linking pins," people motivators, planners and goal setters, personnel evaluators, decision-makers, organizers, conflict managers and problem solvers. We already know what we need to know about training the adults who work in schools. All of these macro-technologies must get to school buildings on a school-by-school basis. Training is reasonable even in New York City, where there are 900 schools. Medley makes the point that training the adults in schools is the most cost-effective means for changing what happens in schools. He is probably right because 80-85% of school system funds are devoted to personnel. For example, an efficient use of personnel costs might be the establishment of a master teacher or curriculum specialist in every building.

This use of personnel might require negotiation with unions in some systems. Every building ought to have an on-site teacher-trainer who also works with children. This requires horizontal career ladders -- that the best teachers be rewarded and left in contact with students. Traditionally, in schools, the only way to advance one's career is to become a vice-principal or principal. Developing horizontal career ladders, and awarding merit pay probably have to be associated with teachers' unions who have traditionally opposed these ideas.

Another example of cost-effective use of personnel involves the notion that job descriptions and evaluation criteria include all the factors important for achievement. Those factors include competence.

Traditionally, unions have resisted the idea of teacher evaluation because they say no one knows which criteria are important for determining the levels of teaching competence. Surprisingly, most teachers know a "good" teacher or a "poor" teacher when they observe one. From these notions and from formal observation models such as Flanders or Teachers Corps, methods for evaluation exist. Compromise and negotiation with teachers and administrators associations remain one of the barriers to school effectiveness which must be resolved if increasing student achievement is desired.

Here we note that many of the effective schools we observed had staff who performed tasks or acted in violation of their own union contracts. It is important to note that these voluntary actions were important for staff morale and the forging of relationships between teachers and the principal. Sometimes teachers arrived early, stayed late, worked together on their own time, or worked during lunch periods, planning periods on free periods. We do not recommend that contracted fringe benefits be withdrawn. We recommend that flexibility be built into contracts so that time and personnel can be more efficiently used.

Parents and advocates want lots of things from the adults who work in schools. Cooperation between parents, advocates and educators might give each segment what it wants. The new policy climate which includes fewer federal contributions, reduction in compensatory programs for the poor, re-thinking the commitment to special education and bilingual education and massive lay-offs of teachers, the best method for increasing achievement is joint effort by teachers, parents and advocates.

Effective schools can become the "average" urban school if parents, advocates and educators work together. Educators can get support for some of the things they need -- support for public education, smaller class sizes, more input in education policy decisions. Parents need to trade for some of the things which might make a difference for students -- teacher evaluation criteria which include accountability for student achievement, evaluation procedures, self-policing by the profession so that incompetents are removed or, if necessary, parent participation in collective bargaining between teachers and school boards.

Effective schools exist. Parents, advocates and educators have an enlightened self-interest in seeing that the phenomenon spreads.

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